

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NEW JERSEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME LXX, NUMBER 1, JANUARY 1952

WHOLE NUMBER 268

The Indians of New Jersey

DOROTHY CROSS

Following is the first of a projected series dealing with outstanding phases of New Jersey history. Next to appear will be an article on proprietary East Jersey, and then another on West Jersey. Written by competent authorities, these and subsequent articles will be free, nevertheless, of multiple footnotes and other blazonry of scholarship. They are designed simply as readable and reliable segments of history for those who wish to know the story of New Jersey.

THE INDIANS who inhabited New Jersey at the time the Europeans came called themselves Lenni-Lenape, or "Original People," but the colonists named them Delaware, after the river along whose banks and tributaries most of them lived. The Lenni-Lenape were divided into three groups which were distributed geographically. The Minsi, or "people of the stony country," lived in the north; the Unami, or "people down the river," in the central portion; and the Unalachtigo, "people who lived near the ocean," in the southern part of the state. These groups in turn were divided into at least four divisions each, but their exact names have been lost and they probably had more of a social than political connotation. While early maps and accounts

THE AUTHOR: Dr. Cross, assistant professor of anthropology at Hunter College and archaeological adviser of the New Jersey State Museum, has worked since 1929 with the archaeology of this state and the ethnology and history of the Delaware Indians. Starting with the arrangement of collections at the State Museum, she became interested in New Jersey rock shelters and directed excavations at Bevans and Moody shelters in 1931. While associated with the University Museum, Dr. Cross did further research in this area, in 1936 organizing the Indian Site Survey which operated for six years throughout the state. Her degrees are from the University of Pennsylvania.

record a galaxy of so-called tribal names, these are mostly confused with names of chiefs, villages, and natural features such as lakes and streams. It is possible that the three main divisions were at one time individual tribes which had federated for protection against the warlike Iroquois to the north.

The language of the Delaware belongs to the Algonkian stock. It is divided into two mutually intelligible dialects, one spoken by the Unami and Unalachtigo, and the other by the Minsi. The former was used most frequently by missionaries and traders.

The Delaware originally were a strong and fairly healthy people, considered by many to be very handsome. Inter-marriage with Europeans was not infrequent, and early taxonomists erroneously classified them as members of the white or Caucasoid race. However, they readily succumbed to diseases brought by the white man, and this circumstance, together with migrations westward forced by colonial encroachment, soon depleted their numbers in New Jersey. Consequently, we have few records of them while they lived in the state. Most of our knowledge is derived from accounts of missionaries who worked among them after the westward move, of modern ethnologists who recently have studied their descendants, of archeologists who have interpreted their material remains buried in the earth, and from information supplied by public records.

The following description will attempt to reconstruct, in brief, the life of the Delaware while they were living in New Jersey.

Food

All of the four basic methods—hunting, fishing, gathering, and agriculture—were used in obtaining food. The many forests in New Jersey provided a large quantity of game, and hunting was the chief occupation of men over the age of fifteen. Usually a party set out in the autumn under the guidance of an experienced hunter. Game was shot by bow and arrow, with or without the assistance of a fire drive. A hunt would last from several weeks to a few months and the return of a successful party was celebrated with dancing and feasting. Occasionally men would prepare themselves for the hunt by fasting, etc., and there usually was some ceremony connected with the killing of the first animal

by a young hunter. Sometimes an entire family would move into the hunting country where they would set up a temporary camp or use natural caves and rock shelters as ready-made homes. Probably dogs, the only domesticated animals which the Indians had, were used by individual hunters. Deer, elk, and bear were the favorite game, but many smaller mammals were coveted for their pelts and birds for their feathers. In time of famine almost any animal was eaten, including reptiles and insects. Bows, about the height of a man, were made of hickory or ash; arrows, over a yard long, were of reeds, tipped with stone, bone, or antler points held securely in place with sinew and fish glue.

The numerous watercourses in the state provided excellent fishing grounds. Fish were caught with the aid of a weir, net, bow and arrow, spear, harpoon, club, and hook and line. The weir was a V-shaped dam of stones placed across a river with the point heading downstream. Remains of these have been noted in modern times and have been confused with fords. Fishermen would start upstream and drag towards the weir either a brush net made by lashing branches together or a knotted net of Indian hemp weighted with notched stone sinkers. The fish were thus driven into the narrow opening or shallow water where they were shot, speared, clubbed, or caught with bare hands. Spears were usually sharpened sticks, although thin stone points and barbed bone harpoons, found archeologically, indicate that they were affixed to a shaft, and used for spearing. Barbless hooks of bone, bird claws, and spurs were tied to a line made from Indian hemp, milkweed, or the inner bark of the elm or basswood tree, and baited with worms or grasshoppers. The gorge might have been used in place of a hook.

A large part of the Indian diet was gathered. During the summer months they traveled to the coast for shellfish, which they dried, smoked, and carried home, using the meat for seasoning in their cooking and the shells for tempering pottery and for making ornaments. Shell heaps containing Indian remains may be seen today along the coast, principally in and bordering the salt marshes near Tuckerton and Barnegat. Women and children gathered wild vegetable foods, including persimmons, grapes,

crabapples, plums, cranberries, blackberries, strawberries, chestnuts, hickorynuts, walnuts, and numerous herbs and roots.

Extensive agriculture was practiced, gardens being placed immediately outside the village compound. Men cleared the surface by burning the brush and turning under the ashes, which helped fertilize the soil. Women cultivated the crops with crooked sticks or crudely chipped stone hoes tied to wooden shafts. Corn, squash, and beans, their chief products, were all planted in the same field. Corn, of several varieties, was grown in hills, six or seven kernels being placed in each.

Meat and fish were usually broiled over an open fire and shellfish were roasted on hot stones or in ashes. Corn was roasted or broiled in the husk, or it was boiled, sieved, and ground into meal from which many dishes were made. These included a kind of porridge called "sapan" or "samp," which was adopted by the colonists as "mush," and a bread made by mixing meal with water, rolling the cakes in leaves, and baking them in ashes or boiling them. Roasted kernels were ground into a fine flour which was mixed with maple sugar, providing concentrated food for hunters and warriors. The favorite food was a stew composed of meat, corn, and other vegetables, with shellfish or bear grease added for seasoning. Sometimes corn was mixed with berries, and beans with berries or bear meat, to make a special dish.

Stone or wooden mortars and pestles were used for grinding. Clay pots, with slightly constricted necks and pointed or rounded bottoms, were employed in boiling. Cooking pots were placed on stone hearths and held upright in the fire by using stones for supports. Pottery was made by the women. The clay was washed, pounded, and mixed with crushed stone, sand, and shell, which acted as a binder or tempering material. Then the clay was rolled into fillets which were coiled to form the body of the pot. When the desired shape was obtained, the coil marks were obliterated and the surface smoothed or covered with impressions of cord, net, or fabric. Sometimes an impressed or incised design was placed on the rim, neck, and shoulder of the pot. It was then baked in the sun, or fired, either by placing it alongside a fire or by building a fire around it.

Most foods were stored for winter use. Corn was parched, ground, and placed in storage pots sunk into the ground or in pits lined with leaves or bark. Squash was cut into strips, dried, and strung on poles placed across the ceiling of the wigwam. Bear grease was stored in skin bags.

Two meals a day, served in the morning and afternoon, was the usual procedure, although food was always kept in readiness for a traveler, tired worker, or a returning hunter. Men and women usually ate together and all were served from the cooking pot with gourd or wooden dippers. Affluent Indians possessed wooden bowls, gourd cups, and wooden or mussel-shell spoons. While cooking, food was stirred with a wooden cooking paddle.

A small amount of tobacco was cultivated. It was smoked in clay or stone pipes. Usually it was mixed with sumac or corn husks. Smoking was confined to occasions such as ceremonies, peace treaties, binding a friendship, etc. Tobacco was considered a choice gift and was offered to the gods and guardian spirits when advice or favors were requested, or sacrificed for success in hunting.

SHELTER

The larger and more permanent villages were along the banks of the Delaware or other navigable watercourses. The ideal location was on a forested bluff beyond the reach of flood waters. Although the villages were moved slightly from time to time, due principally to the practice of extensive agriculture, three main centers were inhabited for a considerable period of time: one on or near Minisink Island, Sussex County; one on the Delaware River bluff, south of Trenton, Mercer County; and one along the Cohansey Creek near Bridgeton, Cumberland County. Private houses or wigwams were grouped, without regard to plan, around a ceremonial structure called the Big House. In the north some of the villages were stockaded.

As a rule each family occupied a separate house. Wigwams were of three types: round with a dome-shaped roof, rectangular with an arched roof, and rectangular with a gabled roof. The first two were constructed in almost the same manner. Post holes left in the earth provide evidence that saplings were driven into the ground about two or three feet apart, outlining the size and

shape of the house. Their slender tops were bent and lashed together with a bast fiber, forming a vault for the roof. The framework was made more secure by saplings tied crosswise over upright poles. In temporary structures the skeleton was covered with woven mats. The more permanent habitations were shingled with large pieces of bark peeled from chestnut, elm, cedar, or other large trees, or with overlapping bundles of grass, reeds, and leaves of corn and sweet flag. The shingles were tied to the frame and chinked with clay or mud. The gabled house was constructed similarly, except that a ridgepole and side poles set in crotched logs determined the shape of the roof, and short crotched wall posts supported the rafters. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, over the inside fire, and a flap of skin was attached in such a way that the hole could be closed when necessary. The one or two doorways, about three feet high, were covered with mats, pieces of bark, or skins. The houses were not large, the round ones usually being less than ten feet in diameter and the rectangular ones about ten by twenty feet.

The inside furnishings were simple. The more permanent structures were lined with mats and sometimes wooden benches were placed along the walls, serving for seats and beds, with the underlying space for storage. Rush or corn husk mats were used for bedding, and skin or turkey-feather blankets for covers. Provisions were hung from poles fastened across the ceiling and charred grain was stored in large, flat-bottomed jars which were sunk into the ground with their rims at floor level.

CLOTHING

Most of the clothing was made from deer, elk, and beaver skins, crudely tanned with deer brains. In the summer the men wore only a small breechcloth. In colder weather a robe was thrown over one shoulder, leaving the opposite arm exposed. Hip-length leggings and soft-soled moccasins completed the costume. Sometimes tobacco bags made from the whole skin of an otter, beaver, or fox, or from bast fiber, hemp, or cornhusks, were suspended from the neck in the back. Their scanty beards were pulled out with a pair of mussel shells and their hair was plucked or cut off with flint knives, leaving a scalp lock down the center of the head. Sometimes the scalp lock was arranged

in two braids, and for festive occasions painted feathers or a roach was attached to it. This was made by tying turkey beards and deer hair to a cord which was then coiled in such a way that the hair stood upward, extending the lock. The face and exposed parts of the head and body were painted in red, blue, yellow, and black lines, circles, and other figures. Paints were derived from the mineral ocher, and from berries, roots, and bark.

Women wore short skirts, open at one side, a loose tunic fastened over the left shoulder, knee-length leggings, and moccasins. Turkey-feather skirts and mantles, plain or dyed, were worn for dress occasions. Their hair, sometimes annointed with bear grease, was braided or fastened behind the head in a square bunch or held in place with a gorget, according to individual preference. They used red paint on their cheeks, forehead, temples, and eyelids, and streaks of paint on their arms.

For decoration, both men and women wore necklaces, earrings, and armbands of shark's teeth, bear claws, and stone, wooden, and shell beads. Stone pendants and amulets were also worn.

Boys went naked until they were between six and twelve years of age, but girls wore a loin cloth or light robe as soon as they could walk.

TRANSPORTATION

Land transportation was by foot, snowshoes, an Indian invention, being used in winter. Bundles were carried on the back, supported by a tumpline drawn across the forehead.

Water transportation was by dugout canoes called "amochels," which ranged from about twelve to forty feet in length. The method of making a dugout was typical of Delaware woodcraft in general. First a tree was felled. Sycamore, often called "canoe wood," was preferred, but chestnut, cedar, and oak were also used.

The tree was felled by burning a section near the base and removing the charred portion with a hafted stone axe. The process was repeated until the tree was cut through. Then the interior of the log was hollowed out by placing flaming dried branches or glowing coals upon the surface to be removed. The part which was not to be burned was soaked with water or

covered with wet clay or mud. As the wood burned, the charred fragments were scraped away with stone adzes and gouges. When the desired inside space was obtained, the outside was shaped and smoothed into a pointed bow and stern. The canoe was propelled by paddles or a pole. Several dugouts have been found in New Jersey. One, made of oak, about sixteen feet long and three feet wide, was found near the Hackensack River and now is exhibited by the Bergen County Historical Society. Another, made of white cedar, twelve feet long and nearly three feet wide, was taken from the cedar swamps near Vineland and is now in the New Jersey State Museum.

TRADE AND BARTER

The Indians generally transacted their business by barter, both among themselves and with the colonists, although they had a medium of exchange in the form of small tubular shell or painted wooden beads, called "wampum." Blue (or black) and white beads were used, the former, at least during the colonial period, being valued at twice the amount of the latter. Wampum, as money, was used by the piece and by the string, which was about one foot long. Beads ranged from one-quarter to one-third of an inch in length. The white traders were quick to take advantage of this relatively cheap currency and set up factories along the coast, where they manufactured it from clam and conch shells. The best known factory was established by John Campbell, sometime before 1775, at Pascack, near Hackensack. Wampum was evaluated with commodities, from about ninepence a yard or one penny for six pieces of white wampum around 1640, to twelve and one-half cents a string and five dollars a thousand for black wampum charged by the Campbell factory. Wampum was legal tender among the colonists until it was outlawed by legislative action.

In addition to its monetary usage, wampum was woven into belts, which served for ornamentation, commemoration of events, and for messages. The design woven into the belt signified its purpose. A string of wampum was commonly used to seal a friendship, to pay for religious service, and as a "fine" for murder.

TRAILS

The state was covered with a network of trails which connected the larger villages with each other and with quarries and hunting and fishing grounds. Trails usually followed water-courses, skirted lakes, mountains, etc., but it is difficult to trace their exact course except by the encampments which were left along them. Many colonial towns were placed in Indian clearings and some colonial roads followed their paths, making some of the trails easier to trace.

One of the most important trails was the Minisink, which ran from the Atlantic coast at the mouths of the Shrewsbury and Navesink rivers to Minisink Island, ten miles south of Port Jervis. Modern towns along the way include Matawan, Metuchen, Westfield, Millburn, and Newton. Another important trail, perhaps also the dividing line between the Minsi and Unami, was the Allamatunk, which went from the Delaware Water Gap to New Brunswick by way of Baker's Mills, Pottersville, Somerville, and Bound Brook. Farther south is the Old Cape Road which went from the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton) via Crosswicks, Medford, Berlin, and Pleasantville, to Somers Point. Another was the Burlington Trail, which ran from the capital of West Jersey to Cape May by way of Pemberton, Shamong, Weymouth, Mays Landing, and Tuckahoe. From Shamong down, this was sometimes called the Shamong Trail. Still another was the Manahawkin Trail, running from Camden through Medford, Shamong, Washington, and Bass River, to Tuckerton. In the south the Cohansey Trail from Gloucester through Swedesboro, Woodstown, Alloway, Bridgeton, and Cedarville joined the Old Cape Road north of Port Elizabeth. Many trails have acquired local names.

RELIGION

The Delaware religion was based upon a pantheon of gods with a supreme being or Manito at the head. The lesser gods were identified with natural phenomena such as the sun, moon, and thunder, and their relative importance can be determined by the terms of address—"grandfather," "elder [or younger] brother," etc. These deities were considered remote and prayed

to only at the Annual Ceremony. Each Indian had a guardian spirit which had his particular interest at heart. At puberty a boy was sent into the forest, where he remained without food or drink until some object (usually an animal), feeling sorry for him, presented itself in a dream. After telling the boy what his future career would be, it became his guardian spirit and remained with him during life as a guide and spiritual adviser. Sometimes the boy made an image of the spirit, wore it as an amulet and prayed and made vows to it. Many guardian spirits became tribal divinities.

Ceremonies followed the general pattern of telling the origin myth of the ceremony, performing appropriate dances, and feasting on a certain animal. Some ceremonies were the property of individual families, who were responsible for their performance. One of these was the Doll Dance, a health ceremony, and another was the Bear Dance. Ceremonies of this type may be older than those of more general scope.

The main ceremony was held annually at harvest time. It lasted for twelve consecutive nights and the several reasons for its performance included: worship, thanksgiving, and to avert the destruction of the world, or a national catastrophe. Most of the time was taken up by the participants' descriptions of visions they had received while acquiring their guardian spirits, but in general it recapitulated the events of the annual ceremonial cycle. The ceremony was held in the Big House, the interior of which was decorated with twelve painted masks representing the gods. Twelve was the sacred number of the Delaware; they believed there were twelve superimposed heavens with a god in each. In reciting, it was necessary to shout twelve times if their messages were to reach the supreme deity, since he resided in the topmost heaven. Most of the dancing, singing, and playing of games accompanied ceremonies.

The religious head, a shaman, received his calling through a vision, and he resorted to the same medium to forecast the future or determine a propitious time for hunting. The belief in dreams was so strong that the outcome of the shaman's prediction was never questioned. He also administered to the sick. Illness was attributed to evil spirits' having entered the body and the main

duty of the shaman was to determine the source, sometimes through the aid of a sweat bath, and then scare away the spirit causing the distress. Although simple medicines were made from herbs, etc., the greater part of the cure consisted of juggling tricks, making rumbling noises, beating the breast, blowing on hands, and blowing on the patient.

Death was also attributed to evil spirits. The corpse was kept for several days, prepared and dressed preferably by non-relatives and then buried. Bodies were placed in shallow graves, usually in a flexed position. Few offerings accompanied the burial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Each of the three main divisions of the Delaware had a totem: the Minsi, the wolf; the Unami, the turtle; the Unalachtigo, the turkey. The same totems are to be found in each of the divisions, adding to the confusion as to just what these groups originally signified. The totem was usually referred to by circumlocution, and only a portion of the animal was portrayed.

A chief, whose powers were decidedly limited, headed each division. He was advised by a council of elders, who considered all matters of importance to the tribe. There is evidence that the chief of one of the divisions was chosen and installed by the chiefs and councillors of the other two. Each sub-group of a division also had a chief whose position was inherited matrilineally, although the council might choose a certain person from the eligible candidates. These civil chiefs ruled during peace time, but in times of war they were superceded by war chiefs or captains whom they appointed. Power received through visions was a prerequisite for a war chief. The council decided the question of going to war, but the procedure was outlined by the war captain.

Justice was based upon retaliation, except in a few civil cases which might be settled by the chief. Theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, and slander were considered crimes, but punishments, other than restitution, are obscure.

Parents arranged marriage with the tentative consent of their children. Polygyny was allowed but only chiefs or the very rich could afford more than one wife. Brides were "purchased" by presents given to her or to her family. Men were at least eighteen

and women fourteen at the time of the marriage. Divorce was effected by separation, the younger children going with the wife.

Shortly after birth, children were placed on cradle boards, where they remained until they could walk. Names were dreamed by parents, grandparents, or elderly friends, sometimes before the birth of the child. Children were treated mildly and seldom punished. Their instruction was mostly by example and casual explanation while the parents or other elders were performing their tasks.

HISTORY

New Jersey has been inhabited since the Archaic Period, which started about five thousand years ago. No one site so far excavated has provided evidence that it was occupied continuously for this length of time, but on the other hand there are very few sites which were occupied in only one period. However, whether these early inhabitants were directly ancestral to the Delaware is a question which has not been determined. According to their own legend, they originated in the "north country"—probably meaning southeastern Canada. Forced by famine and war, they journeyed southward, possibly through western New York into Ohio and then eastward to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. A copy of this legend, painted in picture writing on strips of bark and called the "Walum Olum" or Red Score, is reputed to have been discovered in Indiana or Kentucky by Constantine Samuel Rafinesque-Schmaltz, who translated it in 1833. Attempts have been made to trace the migration archeologically, but so far no conclusions have been reached.

From 1609, when Henry Hudson touched these shores, until 1638, when the Swedes settled in the southern part of the state, the Indians were sporadically thrown into contact with traders. In exchange for pelts the traders offered commodities such as cloth, glass beads, liquor, kaolin pipes, metal tools, and match-coats, which changed the material culture of the Indians slightly but did not interfere with their general mode of life. This was also true for the early part of the colonial period, for, until about 1700, the colonial settlements were small and intercourse between the two groups was somewhat equal. There were a few skirmishes, which have been recorded as massacres, but in general,

relationships were friendly. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the picture changed. Colonial settlements became larger and more numerous, and encroachment upon Indian lands increased. Chiefs became important, usurping the right of the council in dealing with the colonists, slavery was introduced, European justice was in force, all of which changed the political and social life of the Indians. Scalping became a favorite pastime for both. The Indians could not compete and they were forced westward. They even had trouble with their neighbors to the north, the Iroquois, who, about 1720, denied them the right to make war or dispose of land.

In 1690 a band of Minsi left for the west, to be followed by groups of Unami and Unalachtigo, who settled first in Pennsylvania and later, about 1751, in eastern Ohio.

Those Indians who remained behind fell under the sway of Christian missionaries. David Brainerd, a zealous but consumptive young man, in 1743 was sent to the Minisink by the "Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." In 1744 he was transferred to Crosswicks, where he gathered a few families together and formed a "church" which he removed to Cranbury two years later, to avoid bad white influences and to have more fertile ground to cultivate. The following year, at the age of twenty-eight, he died and was replaced by his brother John. Ejectment proceedings were started in 1749, the Indians scattered, and John Brainerd was called to Newark. After a number of complaints by the Indians and half-hearted legislation by the Province, Samuel Smith in 1757 drew up the constitution of a "New Jersey Society for Helping Indians." The following year the governor appointed commissioners to purchase three thousand acres of land in Shamong Township, Burlington County, where the Indians south of the Raritan might reside with free hunting and fishing rights, after surrendering claims to all other land. In 1759 nearly one hundred families were placed on this reservation, the first in what was to become the United States. Governor Bernard named it "Brotherton" and subsequently he recalled John Brainerd as missionary and superintendent. Private homes, a meeting house, trading store, saw mill, school, and blacksmith shop were built by the Province. Stephen Calvin, a

native Indian, was schoolmaster. The experiment was not a particular success. In 1762 the mill was burned and a futile appeal was made to the legislature for aid. In 1796 there was another appeal, asking that the ground be leased and the proceeds be applied to Indian support. This was honored.

In 1801 the Indians at New Stockbridge, New York, invited the Brotherton group to join them. The tract then was disposed of at public sale, part of the proceeds being used to transport the Indians to their new home, and the remainder was invested for them in United States securities. In 1822 they moved to Green Bay, Wisconsin, using the invested money for transportation and to purchase land there. Ten years later, through Bartholomew Calvin, son of their original schoolmaster, they appealed to the New Jersey legislature for further monetary aid, offering in exchange the relinquishment of hunting and fishing rights which had been overlooked in the 1801 settlement. Calvin appeared before the legislature and secured a grant of two thousand dollars, which he accepted in a speech containing high praises for New Jersey. This was the last organized appearance of the Delaware in this state.

The Delaware had many able and colorful chiefs during colonial times. Oratam of the Hackensack, who died in 1667, was a great leader, representing his people at many peace treaties and land transfers. Tamany, the chief at the time William Penn came to Pennsylvania, peacefully negotiated many land sales and treaties with the proprietary government of that colony. Tucamirgan was well known in the Flemington area, where he died in 1750 and is buried. Teddyuscung, reportedly born near Trenton around 1700, probably was the most influential and typical chieftain of his time. He became chief in 1754 and ably represented his people at the five treaties of Easton. His main interests were to secure recompense for land appropriated by the colonists, mostly through the Walking Purchase, and to restore prestige which the Delaware had lost when they became subservient to the Iroquois. Hating the whites, he nevertheless imitated them and at meetings appeared elaborately garbed in a French military coat and cocked hat. He was an eloquent speaker and finally obtained settlement for the land. Ostensibly a Chris-

tian, he never quite lived up to the tenets of the faith, much to the chagrin of the missionaries who converted him. Legend recounts that he met his death in a burning house while in a drunken stupor.

Missionaries followed the Delaware westward, were successful in converting them up to the time of the Revolution, and left us accounts of their customs. The Christian Delaware settled near Pittsburgh in 1786, and then moved to Canada. The "heathen" Delaware went to the White River, Indiana, and in 1821 were moved by the federal government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. In 1867 their lands in Kansas were sold and they bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, receiving allotments as such when the General Severalty Act was passed in 1887. In 1930 there were about two thousand Indians claiming Delaware heritage left, but perhaps none of them was full-blooded Delaware. Nearly one-half of this number resided in Anadarko and Dewey, Oklahoma. Six hundred lived at Hagersville, Middlemiss, and Moraviantown, Ontario, and the remainder were scattered over western reservations.

Their culture is nearly extinct, having been mixed with other Indian, white and Negro cultures for many years. The last division chief died about 1900 and the last Big House ceremony was held in 1924.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Although almost everything which can be associated with the original inhabitants of New Jersey must be consigned to the past, they have left us many things to remember them by. New Jersey is covered with towns, streams, lakes, and mountains which still retain the original, although corrupted, Indian name.

Such towns as Amboy, Hackensack, Hoboken, Piscataway, Pompton, Metuchen, Batsto, Absecon, Minisink, Pequest, Whippany, Parsippany, Rahway, Cheesequake, Matawan, Tuckahoe, and a host of others are familiar to all of us. The Musconetcong, Metedoconk, Assunpink, and Assiscunk rivers and creeks, Lake Hopatcong, the Watchung mountains, are also familiar.

Names of Indian origin which have crept into our vocabulary include: persimmon, hickory, chipmunk, pone, papoose, sassafras, wigwam, canoe, and tobacco, although not all of them are Delaware.

We are also indebted to the Indians for many agricultural products, such as corn, squash, beans, and tobacco, and for the method of growing them. Corn in hills, with beans to climb the ripened stalks, and vines such as squash and pumpkin to hide in their shade, are commonly grown together in one field today. Medicines derived from roots, herbs, and trees, such as the sassafras, are still in use.

The very earliest colonial towns were placed in Indian clearings, roads followed Indian trails, and many settlements would have become extinct if the Indians had not supplied the colonists with food or guided the men to profitable hunting grounds. Their aid in warfare is well recorded, but perhaps the part which the Indians played in providing pelts for trade with Europe is not so easily remembered. Many settlements would have been without income except for this contribution. Also we are apt to forget that many of the early, as well as modern, Indians were highly educated, and taught our children, administered to our religious needs, and contributed to the growth of our communities. People like Bartholomew Calvin, Reverend John Kilbuck and his brother Charles, all graduates of Princeton, the Reverend Albert Anthony, Stephen Calvin, and Richard Connor Adams, who claimed descent from Tamany, have contributed much to American life. A little excursion into history will readily verify these reflections.

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New Jersey Expeditions to California in 1849

PHILIP C. MARSHALL

EARLY in December, 1848, the full significance of the news that gold had been found in California set in motion one of the greatest mass migrations in American history. As more and more reports reached the Eastern seaboard describing the rich deposits, and as naval officers returned to Washington with samples of the precious metal, thousand of men in the United States and throughout the civilized world made plans to share in the new El Dorado.

During that month, news concerning the discovery of gold became the major topic throughout New Jersey. Merchants advertised products which every gold-hunter would need. Ship-owners notified the public of fast, sturdy cargo and passenger vessels about to sail for San Francisco. Men who were planning to leave in the near future ran notices in the leading papers offering to act as agents for merchants who might wish to send goods to the California market. In every part of the state victims of the "gold fever" excitedly discussed their projects and their dreams.

The prevalent contagion was reflected in the local press, which noted in detail the activities of those who were California bound. The *Newark Daily Advertiser*, in a typical item, reported that the fast bark *Ocean Bird*,¹ commanded by Captain T. A. Hall, was preparing to sail for California with a cargo of provisions,

THE AUTHOR: Mr. Marshall is an Amherst man, Class of 1941. After an interlude of service with the Air Force in India, he returned to graduate study. With an M.A. degree (1948) from Brown University and some experience in public school work behind him, he is now a doctoral candidate in American history, at Rutgers University. In a future issue it is planned to publish a second article by Mr. Marshall, relating the history of one California-bound party, the Newark Overland Company.

¹Of Jersey City. For a particular account of the "gold fever" as it affected the citizens of that place, see William H. Richardson, "The Argonauts of Jersey City," *Proc. of the N.J.H.S.*, New Series, XI (1926), 170 ff.

furniture, clothing, and agricultural implements. Merchants were urged to send any surplus goods which they might have on hand as they would be sure to bring high prices at San Francisco. All young men who were ambitious to improve their financial positions were invited to take passage on this vessel.²

On December 13, E. M. Earl gave notice that he intended to leave for California within a few days and would be glad to take charge of any consignments of goods which Newark merchants might care to entrust to him. He promised to "make prompt returns for sales of the same." On that date also, William C. Lewis and Hooper C. Ward announced their imminent departure, offering to take on consignment all goods entrusted to their care.³

The *Alfred Exall*, a fast coppered schooner of 245 tons burthen, was advertised on December 16 as in the process of being fitted out for a journey to California. It was hoped that a joint stock company of fifty men could be formed to purchase the vessel and provision her to last eighteen months. Each person who wished to become a member would be required to deposit five hundred dollars. He would then receive passage to California, together with provisions to last him for eighteen months, and his interest in the ship when she returned home.⁴

On December 18, Campbell and Brother, clothing merchants, ran the following advertisement in the Newark daily paper:

Gold Diggers—Attention!! wanted immediately 1000 lbs of California Gold in exchange for Clothing, at 216 Broad St, where can be found stacks of garments, at any price.

A few more of those "Buckskin" suits can be furnished at 24 hours notice, cheap for the dust.⁵

A half ton of gold bought considerable clothing in 1848.

The fast sailing brig *New Castle* under the command of Captain Swift was advertised on December 18 as fitting out to depart for California in ten days. Merchants were also notified that Captain Hall of the bark *Ocean Bird* would undertake the selling of their goods in California, should they desire to avail themselves of such an arrangement.⁶

²*Newark Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 11, 1848.

³*Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1848.

⁴*Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1848.

⁵*Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1848.

⁶*Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1848.

On December 30, Charles Bruce of Jersey City announced that he had invented a machine to wash gold and other ores. Being "constructed upon philosophical and truly mechanical principles," it would separate metals from sand, gravel, or earth. He informed prospective gold-diggers that the machine, which cost only twenty-five dollars, could be operated by "any person." All persons interested in purchasing one were asked to place their orders at once if they wished delivery in January.⁷

President H. Hutchinson of the Newark India Rubber Company suggested very strongly that all persons going to California would do well to purchase complete India Rubber outfits, which would protect them from dampness on the sea voyage and at the mines. No such outfits would be available in California, he pointed out; or, if they were, the price would be extremely high.⁸ All types of businesses, it would seem, were alert to the possibilities of the California trade.

While Newark businessmen were enjoying the tremendous demand for clothing and provisions in California and at home as a result of the rush to the gold fields, hundreds of men in all parts of New Jersey completed plans to join the migration. Notices of organization meetings for joint stock companies, whose members were to travel to California and work together at the gold mines for their mutual benefit, appeared with increasing frequency in New Jersey papers. On December 19, 1848, for example, the *Newark Daily Advertiser* carried the notice of a meeting to be held at Luce's City Hotel in Newark on December 20, to organize a "Mutual Company to proceed to the Gold Region."⁹

Another meeting was planned for Saturday afternoon, December 30, in Mount Holly, to give people of that area an opportunity to join a company emigrating to California. It was announced that the organizing committee would explain the rules of the company and the route to be taken.¹⁰ On the day set for the gathering, however, the "committee of arrangements" failed to put in an appearance and the plan came to nothing.¹¹

⁷*Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1848.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1848.

¹⁰*New Jersey Mirror* (Mount Holly, N.J.), Dec. 26, 1848.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1849.

January 29 was set for an assembly at Freehold, where a group interested in journeying to the gold fields of California would be formed.¹² Charles Parker, former State Treasurer, presided over the meeting, with John Patterson as secretary. A committee was chosen to draw up the constitution and by-laws, which were to be discussed and voted upon at a second meeting the following evening.¹³

On February 15, the *New Jersey Mirror* of Mount Holly advertised a meeting of Laughlin's Mutual Gold and Mining Expedition, to be held the same evening at Stockton's Hotel in that city. A second meeting was to take place at Moorestown on February 19. The president of the company would explain the constitution and point out the extent of the gold fields from the latest maps of the "diggin's." Each person who joined the expedition would be required to put up two hundred dollars. In return, the president would furnish tents, machinery to be used in the gold mining processes, and provisions for fifty days, when the party landed at San Francisco.¹⁴

On the evening of the 15th, a large crowd attended the Mount Holly meeting to hear Captain Laughlin describe his plans. At the beginning, to inspire the local citizens with thoughts of speedy fortune in the gold fields, Laughlin had them sing a song which was called "The Golden Grains." The words, written to the tune "Oh! Susannah," went as follows:

'Tis said that gold is found untold,
On Rivers, rocks and plains;
In lumps! and scales! and grains! behold!
The prospect of your gains.

But if no grains of gold untold,
You'll find the waving grains
Of wheat at Sutter's tipped with gold,
On California's plains.

Chorus

Old Captain Sutter, you're the man for me,
I'm bound for California, strange countries for to see.¹⁵

¹²*Newark Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 26, 1849.

¹³*Sentinel of Freedom* (Newark, N.J.), Feb. 6, 1849.

¹⁴*New Jersey Mirror*, Feb. 15, 1849.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1849.

Inspiring as this song doubtless was, not one person in Mount Holly was persuaded to join the company in its journey to California. With the exception of a few adventurous fellows from this town, its citizens seemed little concerned with the excitement which had seized the country. Despite the rebuff at Mount Holly, Laughlin persisted in his efforts to form a California company, encountering at Woodbury, in West Jersey, a more favorable reception.¹⁶

The *Newark Daily Advertiser* on February 28 quoted from the *Woodbury Constitution* some further details about Captain Laughlin's expedition. Laughlin, furnishing all necessary equipment and provisions, was to receive one-eighth of all the gold mined, and each member of the company (which was to number at least a hundred and not more than three hundred) was required to sign a paper promising to stay with the company for two years. It was agreed that the group might mine other metals or engage in any pursuit which would benefit the entire organization financially. The expedition was to be divided into companies of ten men each, who would elect their own captains. These captains would make up the board of managers, by which the entire group would be governed. It was Captain Laughlin's responsibility to engage a doctor, in order to maintain the health of the organization.¹⁷

On February 16, a large meeting was held in Jersey City. Its object was to form a joint stock company of thirty members, who would travel to the gold mines in California. Each member was required to put up three hundred dollars as his share of the cost of the expedition. It was planned to take along a steam dredging machine, with which gold-bearing gravel could be dug from the Sacramento River bed, where many rich strikes had been made.¹⁸

While numerous companies were organizing in New Jersey to make the journey, either by sea or across the plains by land, other Jerseymen were singly leaving New York and Philadelphia for the gold region.

Several from the southern part of the state were included

¹⁶*Newark Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 28, 1849.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1849.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

among the passengers who sailed from Philadelphia, early in January, on the *Grey Eagle*. After a very speedy journey this ship arrived at San Francisco on May 10, 1849.¹⁹

The bark *Harriet Newell* sailed from New York in January with more adventurers from New Jersey. She arrived at Rio de Janeiro on February 22 and at Callao, Peru, on May 30, after running into a gale, off the mouth of the La Plata River in Argentina, which lasted until she had rounded the Cape.²⁰ On July 24 the *Harriet Newell* safely reached San Francisco, more than seven months after her departure.²¹

Another California-bound ship which sailed in January with New Jersey passengers aboard was the bark *Tahmaroo*. On Washington's birthday, off the island of St. Catharine (450 miles beyond Rio de Janerio), a Mr. Stout of New Jersey delivered an oration to his fellow members of the California Company.²² July 1st found the vessel in San Francisco harbor.²³

On January 3, the bark *Ocean Bird*, which we have noticed before, sailed from Jersey City with ten Newark men among the passengers.²⁴ On May 10 she reached Callao, Peru, taking on water and fresh provisions there. At that point all the passengers were in good health and enjoying their experiences.²⁵ On July 1, the *Ocean Bird* anchored safely in San Francisco harbor, after a relatively comfortable six-month voyage.²⁶

The ship *Brooklyn* left New York on January 11 under the command of Captain Richardson. George F. J. Colburn, Reuben Young, and Noah Thayer, all from Newark, were passengers. They formed part of a six-man group called the "Taylor Club," a mutual aid organization.²⁷ After a rather slow trip, the *Brooklyn* reached San Francisco on August 12.²⁸

On January 27 the schooner *Roe* sailed from New York, carrying the Perth Amboy and South River Company.²⁹ On April 7 she was "spoken" in the straits of Magellan, at which time

¹⁹*Ibid.*, July 24, 1849.

²⁰*Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1849.

²¹*Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1849.

²²*Ibid.*, May 17, 1849.

²³*Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1849.

²⁹*Hunterdon County Democrat* (Flemington, N.J.), Aug. 22, 1849.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1849.

²⁵*Ibid.*, July 9, 1849.

²⁶*Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1849.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1849.

²⁸*Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1849.

everyone on board was feeling fine and no trouble had presented itself.³⁰ On June 30 she arrived at San Francisco after a passage of 155 days.³¹

The bark *Mara* left New York for Vera Cruz on January 30 with a group from New Jersey who planned to go overland from Vera Cruz to Mazatlan, where they might be able to get a ship for San Francisco.³² Reaching Vera Cruz on February 24, the company found hundreds of Americans making preparations to cross Mexico. The Mexicans, encouraged by the tremendous demand for horses and mules, were asking very high prices.³³

January 31 found the ship *Orpheus* putting to sea from New York for the trip to California around Cape Horn. William Pickett, former alderman of Newark, was on board with his family.³⁴ Reaching Valparaiso, Chile, on April 30, where fresh provisions and water were taken aboard, the *Orpheus* left port again six days later, on the last lap of her journey to California.³⁵ On July 8 she took her place among the dozens of ships at anchor in San Francisco harbor.³⁶

The government mail steamer *Falcon* left New York on February 1 with the Boyden California Mining Company included among its passengers. She was bound for Chagres on the coast of Colombia, where the route across the Isthmus to Panama City began.³⁷ After an uneventful trip, the *Falcon* arrived at Chagres on the afternoon of February 14.³⁸

On February 5, the California Association of New Brunswick, led by James C. Zabriskie, left for the gold region by way of the Isthmus of Panama on the steamer *Crescent City*.³⁹ Two days

³⁰*Newark Daily Advertiser*, June 20, 1849.

³¹*Hunterdon County Democrat*, Aug. 22, 1849.

³²*Sentinel of Freedom*, Feb. 6, 1849.

³³*Newark Daily Advertiser*, March 17, 1849.

³⁴*Sentinel of Freedom*, Feb. 6, 1849.

³⁵*Newark Daily Advertiser*, July 21, 1849.

³⁶*Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1849.

³⁷*Sentinel of Freedom*, Feb. 6, 1849.

³⁸Theodore T. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region and Scenes By the Way* (2nd ed., N.Y., 1850), p. 8; "Seth Boyden's Days in California, 1849-'51" (extracts from his diary), *Proc. of the N.J.H.S.*, New Series, XII (1927), 309 ff.

³⁹*Newark Daily Advertiser*, March 17, 1849.

later a second expedition from New Brunswick sailed on board the bark *Isabel*.⁴⁰ Reaching San Francisco on August 5, the New Brunswick and California Mining and Trading Company dissolved after five weeks and the *Isabel* was sold.

One of the first overland companies to start for the West was Colonel Henry L. Webb's group of one hundred men, which left New York on February 8. Isaac H. Williamson, William J. Cree, and Aaron T. Shipman of Elizabethtown were members.⁴¹ This group, organized in strict military fashion, included several former soldiers who had served under Colonel Webb in the Mexican War. On March 4 the company, after traveling down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers by steamboat, left New Orleans for the Brazos River by sea.⁴²

Webb's men arrived at the Rio Grande on March 8 and immediately proceeded up the river to Matamoras, Mexico. Near this city, on March 10, cholera struck the group and within two days eight of its members had died.⁴³ The company was completely disorganized. Eighteen returned to Brazos and took the steamer *Globe* for New Orleans on March 18, arriving there twelve days later, thoroughly disillusioned.⁴⁴

The remaining members of the company split into two groups, one led by a Mr. Audubon of New York, while Colonel Webb commanded a small party of his former soldiers.⁴⁵ After many hardships, these groups finally reached San Diego on October 30.⁴⁶

On February 16, the ship *Elizabeth Ellen* left New York bound for California. Among her passengers were eleven New Jersey men from Elizabethtown, including John M. Whitehead, president of the company.⁴⁷ Rio de Janeiro was reached on April 25, after a passage of seventy days.⁴⁸ On July 10, the ship anchored in the harbor at Valparaiso, Chile, and Theodore Williams of Elizabethtown wrote that the company expected to

⁴⁰Irving S. Kull, "The New Brunswick Adventurers of '49," *Proc. of the N.J.H.S.*, New Series, X (1925), 12-28.

⁴¹*New Jersey Journal* (Elizabethtown, N.J.), Feb. 13, 1849.

⁴²*Newark Daily Advertiser*, March 13, 1849.

⁴³*New Jersey Journal*, April 10, 1849.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, April 24, 1849.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1849.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1849.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, June 12, 1849.

reach San Francisco within sixty days.⁴⁹ Finally, on September 17, the *Elizabeth Ellen* arrived in port.⁵⁰

Numerous other ships left New Jersey ports, New York, and Philadelphia with men from New Jersey on board. Before the middle of August, more than forty ships had sailed with individuals and companies from many towns in the state.⁵¹ They helped to swell the great migration from the Atlantic ports to California, estimated in January, 1850, to have involved 53,000 persons and eight hundred vessels.⁵² Of this total, approximately one-fifth had left for California in a single three-month period, between December 1, 1848, and February 27, 1849. According to the *New York Herald*, 141 vessels and 8,484 passengers had left the various ports of the United States during these months, bound for San Francisco by way of Cape Horn. Twenty-one vessels had carried 1,769 persons to Chagres, where they could cross the Isthmus to Panama to take other ships for California. Six ships had taken 406 passengers to the Brazos River; five had taken 449 men to Vera Cruz. One vessel carried fifty persons to Tampico, and another vessel took two passengers to the San Juan River in Nicaragua.⁵³

Ships reaching San Francisco during the six-month period, October 1, 1848-March 31, 1849, as recorded by G. H. Harrison, collector of the port for the United States government, brought a total of 2433 persons from all parts of the world. The many foreigners arriving in foreign ships outnumbered the Americans, who arrived in both foreign and American ships. The United States was represented by about a thousand persons, Mexico by 454, Chile by 270, France by 178, Germany by 100, and England by 86. Small numbers of adventurers came from Brazil, Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland, Spain, Denmark, Russia, Portugal, and many islands in the Pacific.⁵⁴

While thousands of Americans were leaving Atlantic and Gulf ports in schooners, brigs, barks, and steamships, lured to

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1849.

⁵⁰*Newark Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 12, 1849.

⁵¹See Appendix A.

⁵²*New Jersey Journal*, Jan. 22, 1850.

⁵³*Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1849.

⁵⁴*Newark Daily Advertiser*, June 25, 1849.

California gold fields by the stories of fantastic riches, other thousands attempted the overland trip. They flocked westward to assemble at St. Joseph, Westport, and Independence, Missouri, or Council Bluffs, Iowa, preparing for the great migration across the plains in the spring, summer, and fall of 1849. Numbered with these thousands was a small company of thirty-six men called the Newark Overland Company. They were for the most part young men from Newark and neighboring towns, optimistic enough to assume themselves among those fortunate ones destined to return with "pockets full of rocks."

Altogether it is possible to account for nearly four hundred Jerseymen who, seized with the lure of golden riches, migrated to California by sea and by land in 1849. For some of them, there was a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. For many, there was only hardship and disappointment. But for all, surely, there was high adventure as they shared in one of the most romantic episodes in the nation's history.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF SHIPS TRANSPORTING NEW JERSEY MEN TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849

1. Ship *Gray Eagle*. Sailed from Philadelphia early in January. Arrived at San Francisco, May 10, 1849.
2. Bark *Harriet Newell*. Sailed from New York early in January. Arrived at Rio de Janeiro on February 22, at Callao, Peru, on May 30, and at San Francisco on July 24, 1849.
3. Bark *Tahmaroo*. Sailed from New York early in January. Arrived at the island of St. Catharine, 450 miles beyond Rio, on February 22, and at San Francisco July 1, 1849.
4. Bark *Ocean Bird*. Sailed from Jersey City on January 3. Arrived at Callao, Peru, on May 10, and at San Francisco on July 1, 1849.
5. Bark *Eliza*. Sailed from Salem, N.J., with seven passengers on January 9, 1849. Capt. A. S. Perkins was master of this vessel. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
6. Schooner *Anthem*. Sailed from New York under the command of Captain Eldridge with the Winfield Mining Company on January 11, 1849. Arrived at San Francisco June 29, 1849. (See Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-81.)
7. Ship *Brooklyn*. Sailed from New York, commanded by Captain Richardson, on January 11, 1849. Among the passengers was the Taylor Club, a mutual aid organization composed of six members, including three from New Jersey. Arrived at San Francisco on August 12, 1849.

8. Ship *South Carolina*. Sailed from New York on January 20. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
9. Schooner *Roe*. Sailed from New York with the Perth Amboy and South River Company on January 27. Spoken in the straits of Magellan on April 7. Arrived at San Francisco on June 30, 1849.
10. Schooner *John Castner*. Sailed from New York for Brazos, Texas, with the California Overland Expedition on January 29, 1849. Arrived at Brazos on February 24.
11. Bark *Mara*. Sailed from New York for Vera Cruz on January 30. Arrived at Vera Cruz on February 24.
12. Ship *Orpheus*. Sailed from New York on January 31. Arrived at Valparaiso, Chile, on April 30, and left there on May 6 for San Francisco. Arrived at San Francisco on July 8, 1849.
13. Steamship *Falcon*. Sailed from New York for Chagres on February 1. Arrived at Charleston, N.C., on February 4, at Havana on February 10 and at Chagres on February 14, 1849. Included among the passengers was the Seth Boyden Mining Company.
14. Bark *Marietta*. Sailed from New York about the first of February. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
15. Ship *Bonne Adele*. Sailed from New York on February 3. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
16. Bark *Strafford*. Sailed from New York under the command of Captain Coffin on February 4 with the New York Mining Company. Ship was spoken on March 15 in latitude 4 degrees 57 minutes north, longitude 25 degrees 21 minutes west. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
17. Bark *Eudora*. Sailed from New York for Panama on February 5. Arrived in Panama or port serving Panama on east coast of Isthmus on March 17, 1849.
18. Ship *Crescent City*. Sailed from New York for Chagres on February 5 with the California Association of New Brunswick, led by James C. Zabriskie. Arrived at Chagres early in March, 1849.
19. Bark *Isabel*. Sailed from New York with New Brunswick and California Mining and Trading Company on February 7. Arrived in California at San Francisco on August 5, 1849.
20. Ship *William B. Travis*. Sailed from New York for Galveston, Texas, February 15. Date of arrival at Galveston unknown.
21. Bark *Toulon*. Sailed from New York on February 10. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
22. Schooner *Mary W.* Sailed from New York on February 16 with the Algonquin Association of New York, which included several New Jersey men. Spoken at latitude 21 degrees 57 minutes south, longitude 36 degrees 7 minutes west, on March 29. Arrived at Valparaiso, Chile, on May 23 and at San Francisco on July 30, 1849.
23. Ship *Elizabeth Ellen*. Sailed from New York on February 16. Arrived at Rio de Janeiro on April 25, at Valparaiso, Chile, on July 10, and at San Francisco on September 17, 1849.

24. Brig *Cameo*. Sailed from New York with the Passaic Mining Company on February 20. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
25. Schooner *General Morgan*. Sailed from New York with the Connecticut Mining and Trading Company, which included some men from New Jersey, on February 20. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
26. Brig *Alrasia*. Sailed from New York for Chagres on February 22. Date of arrival at Chagres unknown.
27. Ship *Mason*. Sailed from Philadelphia under the command of Captain Tighman on February 22. Arrived at San Francisco on October 12, 1849.
28. Brig *Isabella Reed*. Sailed from New York for Vera Cruz on February 24. Date of arrival at Vera Cruz unknown.
29. Ship *John G. Costar*. Sailed from New York on February 24. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
30. Ship *Henry Harbeck*. Sailed from New York on March 6. Arrived at San Francisco on September 17, 1849.
31. Ship *Loo Choo*. Sailed from New York on March 10. Arrived at San Francisco on September 16, 1849.
32. Ship *Salem*. Sailed from New York on March 12 under the command of Captain Douglass. Arrived at San Francisco on October 12, 1849.
33. Bark *Rising Sun*. Sailed from New York on March 28 with the Rising Sun Mining and Trading Association and the Archimedeaz Mining Company. Arrived at San Francisco on September 13, 1849.
34. Bark *Griffin*. Sailed from New York on March 17 under the command of Captain R. M. Halsted of Newark. Spoken in latitude 34 degrees 50 minutes, longitude 53 degrees 30 minutes, by brig *Leonara* on March 30. Spoken in latitude 24 degrees 6 minutes, longitude 27 degrees 57 minutes, by the bark *Laurina* of Barbadoes on April 13. Spoken in latitude 22 degrees 30 minutes south, longitude 36 degrees west, on May 12. Arrived safely at San Francisco on September 16, 1849. (Cf. Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-71.)
35. Ship *Memnon*. Sailed from New York on April 12. Arrived at San Francisco on August 29, 1849.
36. Bark *Warwick*. Sailed from Philadelphia on April 21. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
37. Bark *Magdalen*. Sailed from New York with the Sacramento Mining Company on April 26. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.
38. Ship *Susan G. Owens*. Sailed from Philadelphia on May 7. Arrived at San Francisco on October 12, 1849.
39. Bark *Hannah Sprague*. Sailed from New York with the New York and California Mining Company on May 21. Arrived at San Francisco on November 12, 1849.
40. Ship *Arkansas*. Sailed from New York with the California Mutual Benefit and Joint Stock Association on June 26. Date of arrival at San Francisco unknown.

APPENDIX B

NEW JERSEY MEN TAKING PART IN THE GOLD RUSH
1849-1850

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Abbott, E. M.	Jersey City			Winter 1848-49
Abbott, John R.	Trenton	Warwick	California	Apr. 21, 1849
Abdell, David	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Adams, Henry	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Akers, William	Bloomfield	Strafford		Feb. 4, 1849
Alston, Charles B.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Andrews, Theodore	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Annin, William V. S.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Appar, Jacob	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Arbuthnot, Samuel	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Arnold, A. F.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Arnold, Edward	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Baker, John D.	New Brunswick			Early in 1849
Baker, William	New Brunswick	Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Baldwin, Augustus	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Baldwin, Drusius S.	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Baldwin, James K.	Newark	John Caster		Jan. 29, 1849
Baldwin, Lewis B.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Bampton, Richard		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Bateson, Joseph		Susan G. Owens		May 7, 1849
Beam, Henry M.	Denville	Henry Harbeck		Mar. 6, 1849
Beaty, Abram S.	Bergen	Magdalen	Sacramento	Apr. 26, 1849
Becroft, Theodore	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Bedford, David	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Bedford, George	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Belant, Edward	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Bell, Thomas A.	Newark	Loo Choo		Mar. 10, 1849
Benjamin, W. H.	Princeton			Mar., 1849
Boggs, Lawrence M.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Boice, Charles D. S.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Bona, Robert	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Bond, Robert	Lyons Farms		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Bonton, Lewis H.	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Boonton, John	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Booth, S. G.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Boughton, Caleb	Elizabethtown		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Boyden, Lewis	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Boyden, Obadiah S.	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Boyden, Seth	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Boylan, James B.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Boylston, Caleb D.	Elizabethtown		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Bradford, B.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Brant, Alfred	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Brant, Henry	Jersey City	Rising Sun	Archimedez	Mar. 28, 1849
Brant, Isaac	Jersey City	Rising Sun	Archimedez	Mar. 28, 1849
Brewer, John R.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Brewer, Nicholas R.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Brinkerhoff, Philip	Bloomfield	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Britton, Cornelius	Bergen	Magdalen	Sacramento	Apr. 26, 1849
Brown, P.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Brown, W.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Buckelew, John M.	New Brunswick	Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Buchman, H.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Burnet, I.	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Burnet, John	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Burnet, Lewis	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Burnet, Lewis M.	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Cain, C. R.		Susan G. Owens		May 7, 1849
Camfield, C.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Canfield, Moses	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Carpenter, Thomas	Newark	John G. Costar		Feb. 24, 1849
Cartwright, Alex J.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Case, George	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Casterline, Benj.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Castner, John P.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Caywood, James M.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Caywood, Michael	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Chazotte, Stephen	Jersey City	Apollo		Jan., 1849
Clark, James H.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Clark, John R.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Clay, Thomas	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Cleland, James	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Coddington, Thompson	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Coit, Eben R.	Bloomfield	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849
Colburn, George F.	Newark	Brooklyn	Taylor Club	Jan. 11, 1849
Conover, William	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Cook, James	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Cooper, Joseph	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Cornelison, John H.	Jersey City	Hannah Sprague	California	May 21, 1849
Crane, Samuel	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Craven, John J.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Crockett, Charles	Newark	John Castner	Cal. Overland	Jan. 29, 1849
Crockett, David B.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Crockett, John R.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Crowell, E.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Cushing, Charles	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Darcy, John S.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Davenport, Lewis B.	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Davenport, W.	Newark	Falcon		Feb. 1, 1849
Davis, Peter	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Dayton, Jeremiah B.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Denham, Job	Springfield		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Denyse, John	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Devoe, H. C.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Dickerson, John H.	Paterson	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849
Dinan, David	Newark	Falcon		Feb. 1, 1849
Dodd, George B.	Jersey City	Tarolinta		Jan. 13, 1849
Donaldson, Jesse R.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Dory, Joseph T.	Elizabethtown		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Dotz, J. T.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Drayton, J. B.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Drayton, William	Jersey City	Rising Sun	Archimedeze	Mar. 28, 1849
Dunham, John C.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Durant, Jonathan J.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Durant, W. V.	Jersey City	Rising Sun	Archimedeze	Mar. 28, 1849
Edmonds, Robert	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Edsall, Barton E.	Sussex	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849
Elmendorf, Peter D.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Emery, William	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Emery, William, Jr.			Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Estabrook, Thomas	Newark	Salem		Mar. 12, 1849
Everson, Abram	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Falkenburgh, C. C.		General Morgan		Feb. 20, 1849
Farrand, William	Bloomfield	Strafford	New York	Feb. 4, 1849
Fisher, William	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Fiske, William	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Flintoff, John	Newark	John G. Costar		Feb. 24, 1849
Folger, Robert M.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Ford, Phineas M.	Newark	Falcon		Feb. 1, 1849
Forman, James	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Forsyth, Robert H.	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Foster, Stephen W.	Newark	Salem		Mar. 12, 1849
Fowler, Thomas	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Freeland, S. B.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Freeman, J. B.	Rahway	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
French, Thomas	Jersey City	Christopher Colon		Jan. 6, 1849
Frye, George H.	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Garabrant, Keen	Newark	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849
Gautier, William H.	Jersey City	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Gennings, S.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Gilbert, G. S.	Jersey City	Tarolinta		Jan. 13, 1849
Gilbert, Richard	Bergen	Magdalen	Sacramento	Apr. 26, 1849
Gillespie, Charles	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Glasson, Joseph	Jersey City	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849
Gould, John M.	Paterson	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849
Gourley, Charles A.	Newark	Falcon		Feb. 1, 1849
Grant, J. R.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Grant, John T.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Gray, Andrew J.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Gray, Charles	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Greene, Henry	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Greene, William E.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Griswold, Henry L.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Hall, T. A.	Newark	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Halsted, Abraham H.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Halsted, F. W.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Halsted, George	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Halsted, Oliver S., Jr.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Halsted, Robert M.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Halsted, Walter K.	Newark	Alrasia		Feb. 22, 1849
Hanks, E. R.		Gen. Morgan		Feb. 20, 1849
Hardenburgh, James	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Harrison, Samuel	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Hart, E. P.	Trenton	Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Hayden, Stephen		Susan G. Owens		May 7, 1849
Haywood, John	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Hicks, Charles	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Higbee, J. T.		Susan G. Owens		May 7, 1849
Hiley, James	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Hoagland, Martin	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Hograne, Noble	Bergen	Magdalen	Sacramento	Apr. 26, 1849
Holden, Henry	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Homan, Lewis	Jersey City	Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Hope, Edward	Jersey City			Feb., 1849
Hudson, Henry C.	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Huff, William G.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Hughes, George D.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Hughson, William E.	Jersey City	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849
Hull, Benjamin	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Hull, John A.		William B. Travis		Feb. 15, 1849
Hunt, H. G.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Hunt, John	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Hutton, Charles S.	Jersey City	Ohio		May 28, 1850
Hutton, Isaac	Jersey City	Ohio		May 28, 1850
Jobes, Ashfield	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Johnson, D. G.	Newark	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Johnson, Henry L.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Jones, William W.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Jonsatt, W. Dill		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Joralemon, Abraham	Belleville		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Kellum, William C.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Kelsey, John	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Kennedy, Morris	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
King, S. B.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Kinney, William D.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Kirby, Edward	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Kirkpatrick, James	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Kissam, W.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Lane, C. B.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Lansburg, J. R.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Lathrop, Rev. Calvin	Newark	Arkansas	Calif. Mutual	June 26, 1849
Lathrop, L. E.	Bloomfield	Arkansas	Calif. Mutual	June 26, 1849
Law, Robert A.	Belleville	Toulon		Feb. 10, 1849
Lebee, A.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Le Mare, Joseph	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Letson, Thomas	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Lewis, James, Jr.	Hanover		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Lewis, Theodore	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Lewis, William L.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Lewis, William T.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Lincoln, M.	Plainfield	Salem		Mar. 12, 1849
Livingston, M.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Lockwood, J.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Low, Bergen H.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Low, Randolph	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Lufberry, C. S.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Lum, John G.	Newark	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849
Lyon, M.	Newark	Marietta		Feb., 1849
Lyon, Lewis J.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
McClintock, Dr. S.		Warwick		Apr. 21, 1849
McDermit, Andrews	Newark	Marietta		Feb., 1849
McDowell, Thomas	Washington	Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
McKee, S.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
McKinney, John	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
McMacken, G. S.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
McTamney, William	Newark	Loo Choo	M——	Mar. 10, 1849
Madden, Jerome F.	Newark	South Carolina		Jan. 20, 1849
Major, Alexander	Newark	Marietta		Feb., 1849
Manning, J. K.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Markwith, Ira	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Marsden, M.	Newark	Salem		Mar. 12, 1849
Marsden, Mrs.	Newark	Salem		Mar. 12, 1849
Marsh, William	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Martin, E.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Martin, George D.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Martin, George H.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Martin, George W.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Martin, Henry E.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Martin, Joseph H.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Martin, S.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Martin, William H.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Martindale, C. C.	Jersey City	Ohio		May 28, 1850
Maston, Charles		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Mays, M.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Mead, Garrett I.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Meeker, Jabez N.	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Meeker, S. H.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Megary, Theodore	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Mellville, Robert	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Moxham, James	Belleville	Arkansas	Calif. Mutual	June 26, 1849
Myers, Benjamin		Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Myers, James	Belleville	John G. Costar		Feb. 24, 1849
Mines, Rev. Mr.		Crescent City		Feb. 5, 1849
Molleson, A.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Moore, P.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Moore, W. C.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Morehouse, George	Jersey City	Tarolinta		Jan. 13, 1849
Morrell, William	Jersey City	Apollo		Jan., 1849
Morris, Joseph	Bloomfield	Falcon	Seth Boyden	Feb. 1, 1849
Munson, Dr. A. G.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Murch, William	Newark	Salem		Mar. 12, 1849
Newell, James W.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Newkirk, Abram	Bergen	Magdalen	Sacramento	Apr. 26, 1849
Nichols, G. W.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Norris, William H.	Newark	Mennon		Apr. 12, 1849
Nye, William F.	Newark	Eugenia		Jan., 1849
Nystrum, Charles W.	Morris	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Oakley, T. C.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
O'Brien, John H.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Orchard, James	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Ostrander, D.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Outekirk, Peter	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Overton, Isaac	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Overton, John B.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Overton, J. B.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Palmer, Theodore G.	Mount Holly	Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Paulson, Jesse	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Pennington, James A.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Peters, John	Elizabethtown	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Pickett, William	Newark	Orpheus		Jan. 31, 1849
Pierce, Thomas	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Pierson, David C.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Pool, E.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Potter, J. C.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Potter, Thomas	Rahway	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Powles, Henry	Newark	Eudora		Feb. 5, 1849
Price, John B.	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Pyatt, Thomas H.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Randall, Philip	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Randolph, George F.		Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Rapalye, J.	Jersey City	Tarolinta		Jan. 13, 1849
Reamer, George W.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Reed, E. G.		Susan G. Owens		May 7, 1849
Remsen, Samuel	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Rice, William	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Richards, John	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Richmond, C. A.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Riley, Albert	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Rilley, Simeon		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Riply, James	Paterson	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849
Rodgers, William T.	Jersey City	Gen. Morgan	Connecticut	Feb. 20, 1849
Rogers, S.		Gen. Morgan		Feb. 20, 1849
Rogers, W.		Gen. Morgan		Feb. 20, 1849
Rowland, William	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Rundle, William	Newark	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849
Saunders, James R.	Woodbridge	Warwick		Apr. 21, 1849
Sayre, George D.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Scudder, George M.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Shipman, Aaron T.	Elizabethtown		Webb Land	Feb. 8, 1849
Sillcox, Gabriel	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Simonson, John V. N.	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Simson, D. N.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Simpson, John M.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Sinclair, R. S.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Sinnickson, Mrs.		Bonne Adele		Feb. 3, 1849
Skillman, Theodore	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Smith, Baker	Jersey City	Rising Sun	Archimedeaz	Mar. 28, 1849
Smith, Burnet	Denville	Henry Harbeck		Mar. 6, 1849
Smith, Joseph	Paterson	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Smith, Oliver G.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Smith, S. R.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Smith, Sidney R.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Smith, W. F.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Snowden, James		Susan G. Owens		May 7, 1849
Solano, Joseph	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Soliman, William H.		Mary W.	Algonquin	Feb. 16, 1849
Solomon, A.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Soper, Platt	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Southard, T.	Jersey City	Tarolinta		Jan. 13, 1849
Spader, James V.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Spates, C.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Stafford, T. W.	Bloomfield	Strafford		Feb. 4, 1849
Stafford, W. D.	Bloomfield	Strafford		Feb. 4, 1849
Starr, Daniel R.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Stewart, John S.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Stickle, Jacob P., Jr.	Denville	Henry Harbeck		Mar. 6, 1849
Stout, Charles S.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Stout, Isaac J.		Tahmaroo		Jan., 1849
Summers, Michael	Newark	Loo Choo		Mar. 10, 1849
Summers, Thomas	Newark	Loo Choo		Mar. 10, 1849
Suydam, John F.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Suvdam, Peter	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Swayne, David R.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Symonds, James H.	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Tay, George H.	Newark	Empire City		Aug. 16, 1849
Tay, Joel	Newark	Empire City		Aug. 16, 1849
Taylor, Dr. A. F.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Taylor, George W.	Clinton		N.J. Cal. Co.	Jan., 1849
Taylor, John C.	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Taylor, Lewis H.	Clinton		N.J. Cal. Co.	Jan., 1849
Thayer, Noah	Newark	Brooklyn	Taylor Club	Jan. 11, 1849
Thomas, Joseph M.	Medford	Grey Eagle		Jan., 1849
Thompson, A. F.	Newark	Salem		Mar. 12, 1849
Thorne, Lewis A.	Newark	John G. Costar		Feb. 24, 1849
Tompkins, Cornelius	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Townley, Israel C.	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Townsend, S. S.		Susan G. Owens		May 7, 1849
Tucker, Charles W.	Newark	John G. Costar		Feb. 24, 1849
Turner, F. W.	Jersey City	Anthem	Winfield	Jan. 11, 1849
Van Blarcom, Jacob	Paterson	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849
Van Deveer, J. H.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Vanderwater, A.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Van Gieson, Horace	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Van Geison, J. E.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Van Horne, John	Bergen	Magdalen	Sacramento	Apr. 26, 1849
Van Houten, John A.	Paterson	Rising Sun	Rising Sun	Mar. 28, 1849
Van Orden, Isaac L.	Orange	Isabella Reed		Feb. 24, 1849
Van Middlesworth, J.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Van Nuise, John, Jr.	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849
Vansant, T. A.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Vliet, William	New Brunswick	Isabel	New Brunswick	Feb. 7, 1849

<i>Name</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Date left</i>
Waller, Thomas	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849
Ward, Hooper C.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Warner, C. E.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Weaver, William	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Webb, Col. Henry L.	(N.Y.)		Webb Land	Feb. 8, 1849
White, Gardiner T.	Jersey City	Ocean Bird		Jan. 3, 1849
Whitehead, John M.	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Whitely, Dr. Robert	Paterson	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849
Whitely, Thomas	Paterson	Cameo	Passaic	Feb. 20, 1849
Whitmore, Francis	Bergen	Magdalen	Sacramento	Apr. 26, 1849
Whittemore, William	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Wilkinson, Walker	Orange	Arkansas	Calif. Mutual	June 26, 1849
Williams, Rev. A.	Clinton		N.J. Cal. Co.	Jan., 1849
Williams, J.	Newark	Griffin	Newark	Mar. 17, 1849
Williams, Theodore	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Williamson, Isaac	Elizabethtown		Webb Land	Feb. 8, 1849
Woodruff, Job	Elizabethtown	Elizabeth Ellen		Feb. 16, 1849
Woodruff, Stephen F.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Woolsey, B. F.	Jersey City		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Wynans, B. H.	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Wynans, Robert	Newark	Mara		Jan. 31, 1849
Yard, Benjamin		Mason		Feb. 22, 1849
Yates, C.		Roe	Roe Mutual	Jan. 27, 1849
Young, Reuben	Newark	Brooklyn	Taylor Club	Jan. 11, 1849
Young, Thomas	Newark		Darcy Land	Mar. 1, 1849
Zabriskie, James C.	New Brunswick	Crescent City	Calif. Assn.	Feb. 5, 1849

New Jersey and the Fourteenth Amendment

ABNER J. GAINES

RATIFIED and rejected within a period of eighteen months—this was the record of the tempestuous career of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution within the state of New Jersey. Because it formed one of the keystone planks of the Radical Republican program for reconstruction of the South, and because it became embroiled on the fringes of such issues as the unseating of a United States senator and the election of another, and Negro suffrage, the amendment became the focus of bitter partisan strife within the state.

It is necessary to trace back to March, 1866, in order to acquire a proper perspective of the reception accorded the Fourteenth Amendment in New Jersey. It was during this month that the House of Representatives approved the Civil Rights Bill, following the lead of the Senate, which had passed it during February. This bill, the legislative forerunner of the Fourteenth Amendment, was designed to give the Negro "the right to acquire property, to come and go at pleasure, to enforce rights in the courts, to make contracts, and to inherit and dispose of property."¹

Although it was at first hoped that President Johnson would sign the bill, it became increasingly evident during the latter part of March that a veto was more probable. With this prospect and also the two-thirds majority necessary to override a veto in view, the Radical Congressional leaders undertook a re-examination of the voting upon the bill. In the House a majority of two-thirds

THE AUTHOR, a native of Atlantic City, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1944, previously having studied also at the University of Wisconsin. Serving 1943-46 with the Marine Corps, he participated in the Okinawa campaign and China occupation. After the war came graduate work: Columbia University, B.S. in L.S., in 1947, and University of Pennsylvania, M.A., 1950. Mr. Gaines was affiliated with the State Library at Trenton, 1947-51, first as senior librarian and then as reference librarian. At present he is attending the University of Pennsylvania as a Ph.D. candidate.

¹James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1850-1877* (N.Y., 1909), V, 581.

was assured, but in the Senate the result was rendered doubtful because of uncertainty as to the attitude of some Republican senators. Thus, when on March 22 the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Lyman Trumbull, reported upon the credentials of Senator John P. Stockton of New Jersey, the issues involved transcended the mere seating or unseating of a United States senator.

The elections of 1864 in New Jersey had resulted in a tie between the Republican and Democratic parties in the Assembly and a Democratic majority of five in the state Senate. When both houses met in joint session on February 15, 1865, to elect a United States senator to fill the expired term of Republican John C. Ten Eyck, the Democrats retained their majority of five. The only business concluded at this meeting was the passage of a resolution which provided that no candidate receiving less than a majority of the votes of the joint meeting should be declared elected. Another meeting scheduled for March 1 was postponed until March 15. The indecisiveness of these two meetings might be attributed to the desire of the Republicans to postpone the election until after the campaign of 1865, when a Republican majority might be in control, and to the inability of the Democrats to rally unified support behind their candidate, John P. Stockton.

The dilatory actions of the majority party ceased on March 15. The resolution requiring a clear majority for the election of a senator was quickly rescinded by a vote of forty-one to forty. After a motion to adjourn was defeated, voting for the election of a senator commenced. Stockton received forty votes, John C. Ten Eyck thirty-seven votes, and four votes were cast for other candidates. John P. Stockton was thus declared elected, on the basis of a plurality, not a majority, of the votes cast.

Speaking later in his own behalf on the United States Senate floor, Stockton stated that the idea of a plurality vote had not originated with the Democrats, but with former Senator Ten Eyck and his friends, who supposed that Ten Eyck could be elected by a plurality vote because nine Democrats refused to go into caucus and support the party candidate.² Although eight Republicans had voted in favor of rescinding the majority rule, the Republican members of the legislature drew up a protest to be

²*Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 1866, p. 1568.

presented to the United States Senate, which declared that the election was irregular and that Stockton should be unseated. Their contention was that Stockton did not receive as many votes as were cast against him, that no United States senator from New Jersey had ever been elected under similar circumstances, and that election by a legislature could be a legal action only if taken by a majority of the whole legislature.³

The heavily weighted Republican Judiciary Committee reported favorably upon the credentials of Senator Stockton, with only Senator Clark of New Hampshire dissenting. The report based its ruling on the grounds that "in the absence of any law either of Congress or the State on the subject, a joint meeting of the House of a Legislature . . . has a right to prescribe that a plurality may elect, on the principle that the adoption of such a rule by a majority vote in the first instance makes the act subsequently done in pursuance of such majority vote its own."⁴ The Committee then offered a resolution declaring that Stockton had been duly elected. Voting upon this resolution resulted in deadlock, twenty-one to twenty-one, mainly because Senator Morrill, who had been paired with the absent and ailing Senator Wright of New Jersey, yielded to the advice of Senator Sumner and voted upon the roll call. In view of the tie vote, Senator Stockton cast his own vote and carried the resolution.

With the program of Radical reconstruction threatened, Senator Sumner reopened the question on the very next day, offering a motion to correct the journal by striking out the vote of Stockton on the question of his seat. With this legalistic maneuver, general debate on the question was resumed, and on March 27, the same day that President Johnson returned the Civil Rights Bill, Stockton was unseated by a vote of twenty-three to twenty.

Although the elections of 1865 brought success to the Republican party of New Jersey, which elected a governor and a clear majority in both houses, the task of choosing a senator to replace the unseated Stockton proved exceedingly difficult. The Republicans held a majority in the Senate, eleven to ten, but one of them, James M. Scovel of Camden County, in distaste for the candidate

³Charles Merriam Knapp, *New Jersey Politics during the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Geneva, N.Y., 1924), p. 144.

⁴*Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 1866, p. 1564.

of the Republican caucus, Alexander G. Cattell, refused his vote to go into the joint meeting necessary for an election. He declared Cattell to be an upstart and an adventurer, a stranger to New Jersey for twenty years, unfit mentally and morally for the position, and without claims to it other than financial.⁵ While there was much personal animus behind these allegations, for Cattell had opposed Scovel's nomination for the state Senate, there was also some basis in fact. The Democrats, of course, voted *en bloc* against going into joint session, claiming that there was no vacancy, that the federal Senate acted by less than a majority of their whole number and against the facts of the case, and that it was a high-handed violation of the constitutional rights of the state of New Jersey to have two representatives in the Senate, who are appointed in the manner prescribed by the legislature.⁶ In order to break the deadlock, Scovel offered to support any Republican candidate, except Cattell, upon whom the caucus should agree. The caucus remained for Cattell, and the legislature, unable to elect a senator, adjourned on April 6. On the same day, the Civil Rights Bill was passed over the President's veto.

Although the Civil Rights Bill had finally become law, there remained a great deal of doubt, even among its supporters, as to its constitutionality.⁷ The fear that the Supreme Court might nullify the law, or that the Democrats would repeal it as soon as they came into power, spurred the Radicals in their attempts to incorporate its principal provisions into the Constitution. Thus on April 30, 1866, a joint resolution proposed by the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction was reported to both houses of Congress. After only two days of debate, with each speaker being limited to thirty minutes, the House adopted the resolution, 128 to 37. In the Senate, the original terms were modified somewhat, the most important change being the striking out of the section which disfranchised "all persons who voluntarily adhered to the late insurrection until July 4, 1870," and the substituting of a clause which omitted disfranchisement but ren-

⁵Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶*American Annual Cyclopædia*, 1866, p. 539.

⁷Homer Edgar Flack, *The Adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 95.

dered a large class of men ineligible for office.⁸ The resolution, which was to become the Fourteenth Amendment, then passed the Senate on June 9, thirty-three to eleven, those votes in the negative coming from four Johnson Republicans and seven Democrats. The House thereupon accepted the Senate amendments.

Congress took direct action upon the senatorial impasse in New Jersey when Senator Clark, the only dissenting member of the Judiciary Committee which had reported favorably upon John Stockton, proposed a bill which regulated the time and manner of electing senators to Congress. It provided that the legislature chosen preceding the expiration of a senatorial term should vote on the second Tuesday of its session, each house by itself, for some person to represent the state in the Senate. On the next day the legislature was to assemble in joint session and, if it was found that the same person had been chosen by both houses, he would then be elected. If not, the two houses would then proceed to vote in joint session until a decision had been made. This measure passed Congress with little difficulty, the negative votes not even being counted in the House. The path was thus cleared for New Jersey Republicans to elect Alexander Cattell, with or without consent of James Scovel.

Scovel, however, realized that further opposition would be a mere futile gesture and attempted to reinstate himself once more within the good graces of the Republican party. On August 11 he sent a letter to Governor Ward, requesting that a special session of the legislature be called, in order that the new amendment might be ratified.⁹ Charles Perrin Smith, chairman of the Republican State Committee, writes in his "Reminiscences" that he had advised Scovel "to turn the table upon [his] traducers, and publicly invite Governor Ward to convene an extra session

⁸Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 595. This heterogeneous resolution, after some modification, contained the main features of the Civil Rights Bill in its first section; the manner in which representatives should be apportioned (counting the whole number of voting males) in the second; a provision forbidding federal or state officeholding to those who had supported the rebellion, unless permitted by a two-thirds vote of Congress, in the third; a reaffirmation of the validity of the public debt and the illegality of the Confederate debt in the fourth; and finally, a provision which gave Congress the power to enforce the other sections.

⁹Trenton *Daily True American*, August 15, 1865.

of the Legislature . . . promising to vote for any candidate the party might agree upon."¹⁰ Scovel assented, although in the end he adopted a face-saving course.

On August 30, Governor Ward summoned a special session of the legislature, to act upon the proposed constitutional amendment and to fill the vacancy which existed in New Jersey's senatorial representation. The meeting was called for September 10, 1866.

Although some writers state the real purpose of the extra session to have been the ratification of the amendment, this seems to be an erroneous conclusion.¹¹ The movement for an extra session actually did not originate directly after the amendment was passed in June, but rather followed the new law for uniform elections of senators adopted in July. The political value of a senatorial election obviously outweighed the rather nebulous advantages likely to result from the ratifying of a controversial amendment—an amendment, indeed, which might turn out to be a liability in a politically divided state. There is further evidence provided in the editorial columns of newspapers, both Republican and Democratic, which focused their main attention upon the senatorial aspects of the extra session.

In a period of aroused and rancorous partisanship, while the lines were forming for the crucial November Congressional elections, the legislators assembled at Trenton in extra session. Governor Ward, in his message to both houses, stated that he regarded the amendment "as the most lenient amnesty ever offered to treason." He held the election of a senator "only second in importance to the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment."¹²

The Senate debated the question of the constitutional amendment on the next day. James M. Scovel of Camden County and Benjamin Buckley of Passaic County spoke in favor of ratification, while Charles A. Winfield of Hudson, Henry S. Little of Monmouth, and Alexander Wurts of Hunterdon, all Democrats,

¹⁰Charles Perrin Smith, "Personal Reminiscences" (MS. in the State Library, Trenton), pp. 304-05.

¹¹Flack, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

¹²*Daily True American*, September 11, 1866.

voiced their opposition. These three argued that the amendment was a federal invasion of states' rights, that the third section was an *ex post facto* law, that there was no necessity for the amendment at the present time, and that the people should be permitted to express their feelings upon the matter.¹³ A motion to postpone consideration was defeated, eleven to ten, on a strict party basis. The resolution was then adopted by the same vote, eleven to ten.

The Assembly approved the amendment with a minimum of debate. One Democrat moved to postpone consideration, not knowing (he claimed) the feelings of his constituents on the matter. This motion was lost and the Assembly then approved the joint resolution ratifying the amendment, by a party vote of thirty-four to twenty-four. Although the Democrats were defeated on this issue, they attempted to place their program on the record. During the afternoon session, Edward L. Price of Essex offered a series of resolutions opposing the passage of the joint resolution amending the Constitution; endorsing the reconstruction policies of President Johnson; regretting the attempt of Radical leaders, by their speeches and through the press, to incite another civil war; affirming that the country should be governed by white men; and approving the proceedings, address, and resolutions of the National Union Convention.¹⁴ Consideration of the Price resolutions was postponed indefinitely by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-three.

With the amendment safely ratified, the Republican majority now turned its attention to the election of a senator. On September 18, James Scovel (who had blocked the election during the regular session) submitted a resolution that the Senate proceed to elect a United States senator to fill the existing vacancy. In response, the Democratic members filed a protest asserting that John P. Stockton had been removed illegally from his senatorial seat; and that the Act of July 25, 1866, providing for uniform elections of United States senators, was unconstitutional. The unconstitutionality of the act lay in the fact that although Congress could prescribe the time and manner of the election of

¹³*Ibid.*, September 12, 1866.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

the senators, this was mere form. The substance, the right of election, remained with the legislatures.¹⁵

After the Senate agreed to enter the protest in the journal, the Scovel resolution was approved, eleven to ten. The Senate then went into an election. Alexander Cattell received eleven votes—with none in the negative, as the Democrats abstained.

The protest was also filed in the Assembly, with affixed signatures of all the Democratic members of that body. In the election, Cattell was given thirty-six votes, with one Republican and all the Democrats abstaining. As he had received majorities in both houses, a joint meeting approved a resolution on September 19 declaring Alexander G. Cattell duly elected senator from New Jersey. Cattell's triumph became even more complete when, on the next day, the Republican convention of Camden County refused to renominate James M. Scovel for the state Senate.

The Republicans, having achieved both of their objectives during the extra session, embarked upon the campaign of 1866 determined to make the Fourteenth Amendment the central issue. Hopelessly outnumbered in the legislature, the Democrats had resorted to the strategy of placing their position on the record and then biding their time. In the election campaign they now avoided mention of the amendment, concentrating rather upon the issue of Negro suffrage, which they accused the Republicans of supporting.

The election, held on November 6, was foreshadowed by those of Maine and Vermont in September and the October elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa. All of these states returned large Republican majorities. The trend was continued in New Jersey. Except in the Assembly, the Republicans gained seats in all contests. In the Congressional elections, they added one seat, losing a Republican district and gaining two formerly held by the Democrats. For the state Senate the Republicans succeeded in electing their men in four of the six contests, thereby increasing their majority to thirteen to eight. Only in the Assembly did the Republicans lose ground. Their majority in this house was reduced from eight to four.

The Republicans interpreted the election outcome as a public

¹⁵Perth Amboy *New Jersey Era*, September 13, 1866.

endorsement of their policies, both national and local. Inasmuch as it was the first election since the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Republican success, since they had been so closely identified with it, indicated public approval of the amendment.

As for the Democrats, the reason for their failure lay not so much within the state as without. The losses which they sustained in all of the northern states indicate that "the President's policy" had become a millstone about the neck of the party. President Johnson's "swing around the circle" during September was a disastrous occurrence for his supporters and he returned to the White House utterly discredited before the country. And yet the Democrats continued to advocate his policies.

Until February 29, 1867, whenever the Democrats accused the Republican party of partiality to Negro suffrage—and the accusations came often—party leaders either ignored or denied the charges. The equivocal period ended abruptly for New Jersey's Republican politicians when, on February 29, Edward Stansbury, an Assemblyman of that party from Passaic, offered a joint resolution to strike the word "white" from the state constitution. The issue was of such importance that the leading Republican organ, the *Daily State Gazette*, "compelled by the pressure of occupation," delayed discussion for six days. After due soul-searching, the *Gazette* went on record as favoring impartial suffrage. This was a major decision. The editorial reasoning behind it was that Negroes had once had the privilege of voting in New Jersey and that there had been no abuse of this right until agitation of the slavery question finally aroused the fears of the slaveholders. It had been at their behest, alleged the *Gazette*, and in order to secure their favor, that the right was rescinded.¹⁶

To the introduction of this issue the Democrats responded without vacillation or indecision. A day after the *State Gazette* committed itself, three "non-partisan" reasons were offered by the *Daily True American* for rejecting impartial suffrage: Negro suffrage (as the *True American* chose to term the issue) would add nothing to the intelligence or stability of state govern-

¹⁶Trenton *Daily State Gazette*, March 6, 1867.

ment; further, the Negroes had no interests separate and apart from those of the whites which would require them to share in the state government for the protection of those interests; and finally, the Negro had been found totally incapable of self-government. In reference to the *Gazette's* charge that Negro suffrage had been abolished in New Jersey at the behest of slaveholders, the *True American* pointed out that the act abrogating Negro suffrage in 1820 was passed three months after another law which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. Thus, the *True American* claimed, the abolition of Negro suffrage was the work of those who, while opposed to slavery, were also against giving the emancipated slaves the privilege of voting.¹⁷

The joint resolution submitted by Stansbury being tabled until March 19, that indefatigable gentleman adopted another tactic. On March 7 he introduced a bill for the election of delegates to a convention for the purpose of preparing a constitution, which was to be submitted to the people for ratification or amendment. When the joint resolution came up for debate in the Assembly, Stansbury offered to postpone consideration of the measure, in order that his bill calling for a constitutional convention might be given precedence. The Democratic members were not acquiescent to this move. While the joint resolution, bearing entirely on the issue of impartial suffrage, would have forced a definite stand on the part of Republican legislators, the more general bill calling for a constitutional convention, would not. Francis M. Ward, a Democrat from Sussex, stated that he wanted the Republicans to say to the state whether they had meant their recent declarations through the press in favor of Negro suffrage. Another Democrat, A. O. Evans of Hudson, regretted that there should be any disposition to postpone the measure, since his party was ready to meet it and wanted an expression on the subject.¹⁸ The motion to postpone consideration of the resolution was passed by a partisan vote.

The movement to call a constitutional convention was complicated by the attempt of a group of women, led by Lucy Stone, to have the word "male," in addition to "white," stricken from

¹⁷*Daily True American*, March 8, 1867. Actually, Negroes were disfranchised by the Act of November 16, 1807.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, March 20, 1867.

the constitution. This compounding of an already controversial issue was too much even for the Republicans, and the bill was indefinitely tabled on March 26. But the question of impartial suffrage would not die. The previously moribund joint resolution to eliminate the word "white" from the constitution was revived. There was considerable debate, in which the Democrats renewed old arguments of Negro inferiority and the dangers of a mongrel government, and the Republicans pleaded for the doctrine of universal liberty and equality. The measure was brought to a vote on April 10. Breaking party lines, thirteen Republicans joined with the Democrats to defeat the resolution, thirty-eight to twenty.

That the motives of the Republicans supporting Negro suffrage were not entirely altruistic can be gleaned from some of the editorials which appeared in party organs. The *Newark Daily Advertiser* warned Republicans that "we hold New Jersey . . . by a very doubtful grasp; and yet we do not dare to call seven thousand non-voting Republicans to our assistance." The editorial then called on Republicans to do and dare.¹⁹ The leading organ of the party in South Jersey, the *Salem Standard*, urged legislators to "make haste, and do this thing [pass the resolution]. We must have the 10,000 Negro votes in the State, to keep our ascendancy in the future."²⁰

Threats and pleas of the press did not sway the thirteen Republicans who had voted against the joint resolution. Most of the thirteen were representatives from West Jersey, whose break with party regularity derived from the fear of political consequences inherent in the passage of the resolution. Their constituents, it was felt, were not educated up to the acceptance of Negro suffrage as a party issue.²¹

Reaction upon the vote was prompt and emphatic outside the state. The *New York Tribune* placed the thirteen "foolish virgins" on a black list and spoke of the "indelible disgrace inflicted upon New Jersey by their action."²² From Washington, Thaddeus Stevens wrote to James Scovel that "New Jersey would

¹⁹*Ibid.*, April 5, 1867.

²⁰*Ibid.*, April 9, 1867.

²¹*Newark Daily Advertiser*, April 22, 1867.

²²*Ibid.*, April 19, 1867.

disgrace her sister States should she leave the word 'white' in her Constitution."²³

The Republican press within the state greeted the action of the "recalcitrant thirteen" with varied reactions. The moderate *Daily State Gazette* proceeded with a lecture on political consistency, while the *Newark Daily Advertiser* announced that the question was only postponed, not silenced. The more radical journals, such as the *Jersey City Times*, read the thirteen out of the party.

The radical wing of the Republican party did not accept the defeat of the joint resolution as final. Those who had favored it held an informal meeting soon afterwards, and a committee was appointed to prepare an address on the subject. If approved by the Republican members of the legislature, it was to be signed and published. The address was thereupon drawn up and signed, but never published. Instead, this self-instituted, unofficial committee (headed by Z. K. Pangborn, editor of the *Jersey City Times*, John Davidson of Union, and John Y. Foster of Essex) called for a state convention to be held June 16, 1867, at Trenton, to discuss "impartial suffrage." More than the suffrage question, however, lay behind the call.²⁴ When United States Senator William Wright died in 1866, before the expiration of his term, a bitter battle had been waged within Republican ranks for his seat. The standard-bearers of the opposing factions were Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of Newark and George T. Cobb of Morristown. With the effective assistance of Governor Ward and Senator Cattell (who in a political deal abandoned his support of Cobb), Frelinghuysen was elected. Cobb and his friends, stung by this defeat, sought to gain control of the State Executive Committee and, through it, management of the party. Since the next elections were to be of a local character, with six seats in the Senate and the entire Assembly at stake, there was little likelihood that a state convention would be held, at which a new committee might be appointed. Cobb's supporters therefore began to agitate the question of Negro suffrage and called for a convention, hoping that a committee wholly in their interest

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

might be appointed.²⁵ The call was supported by the Radical journals of the state, and pressure was applied on the existing State Committee for its official sanction. Meeting in New Brunswick, the Committee did decide to call a convention on impartial suffrage, scheduled for the latter part of July.

The convention which assembled in Trenton on the twenty-third of that month was a gala affair. All of the party leaders were present, together with such out-of-state luminaries as Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, Senator Nye of Nevada, and Governor Hawley of Connecticut. The speakers all delivered rousing speeches in favor of manhood suffrage and were acclaimed by the assembled gathering. A platform was adopted which endorsed the most advanced Radical principles. These resolutions stated that insertion of the word "white" in the 1844 constitution had violated the principles of republican government; that the doctrine declaring absolute equality of all men before the law was in accordance with the Declaration of Independence; that Congress should take measures to induce or compel all states to establish a uniform rule of suffrage, excluding all distinctions of class, race, or color; that the Republican party of New Jersey cheerfully accepted the issue of impartial suffrage as one of the most important questions in the next campaign; and that the convention approved the course of the loyal majority in Congress which had resisted attempts of the President to substitute his will for the authority of Congress.²⁶

Realizing that the convention was controlled by Cobb's supporters, Charles Perrin Smith and the entire State Executive Committee had decided, on the eve of the convention, to resign. A new Committee was thereupon appointed, heavily weighted with men favorable to Radical policies. Smith writes that "the proceedings fell like a pall upon the party. New Jersey, at best a doubtful state, was called up to face an issue nowhere else presented."²⁷

The Republican party thus belatedly accepted the issue with which the Democrats had unsuccessfully attempted to identify

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Newark Daily Advertiser*, July 24, 1867.

²⁷Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

it in 1866. In fact, the Republican espousal of Negro suffrage was a stroke of unparalleled good fortune for the Democrats. Instead of being forced to defend the policies of a discredited President toward an equally discredited South, they now possessed a local issue, which touched the concepts and prejudices of nearly every citizen.

Although there was some agitation among the Democrats for a rival convention, the leaders decided that a policy declaration from the State Executive Committee would suffice. The address was released on September 5. Drafted by David Naar, chairman of the Committee and owner of the *Daily True American*, it denounced Negro suffrage and any attempt of Congress to foist it upon the states:

The issues of the last few years have passed away. The vital questions for the present are: Shall the colored people be granted the right of suffrage by a change of the State Constitution? Shall the Congress of the United States usurp the Constitutional powers of the States, by ordaining who shall and who shall not vote? Those who answer in the affirmative must go with the Republicans, those in the negative with the Democrats; there is no middle course for a patriot to pursue.²⁸

The issue was thus clearly drawn for the voters to decide.

On November 5, 1867, the Republican walls came tumbling down in New Jersey. Smith writes that "such a thorough defeat had never before been experienced by any party in New Jersey."²⁹ The Democrats, on the defensive since the Civil War, now surged back to sweep both houses of the legislature. Of the twenty-one counties in the state, the Democrats won seventeen. Where the Republicans formerly held a majority of six in the House of Assembly, the Democrats now ruled by a margin of thirty-two to fourteen. In the Senate, with its six contested seats, the Democrats staged their most surprising upset. Three of the counties, Burlington, Passaic, and Cape May, were considered Republican strongholds, and yet the Democrats emerged victorious in all three. Cape May elected a Democratic senator for the first time in its history. In the statewide voting for assemblymen, the Democrats recorded a majority of almost nineteen thousand.

The complete rout of the Republicans in this election must be

²⁸*Daily True American*, September 6, 1867.

²⁹Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

interpreted as a repudiation of policies which they had advocated during the campaign. The party lost heavily by bringing Negro suffrage to the forefront. The bitter Democratic assaults upon this issue swung few Republicans over to their fold, but did serve to keep them away from the polls. Election statistics from 1865 to 1867 reveal that while Democratic strength was comparatively stable throughout this period, the Republican vote declined by some fifteen thousand between the 1866 and 1867 elections. The vast majority of these voters presumably found the Democratic party still unpalatable but protested against Republican policies by remaining at home.

Although no Democratic organ in the state, with one exception, dared raise the issue of repealing the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment during the 1866 election—and the amendment was little discussed in the following year's campaign—this plan found vocal support soon after the election of 1867. The *New York Herald* was among the first to report that leading Democrats in the states which had ratified the amendment and elected Democratic legislatures during the last elections were taking steps to repeal the resolutions of ratification. It claimed that if New Jersey, California, and Ohio should accomplish the repeal, it would prevent the proposed amendment from being engrafted upon the Constitution.³⁰

Secure in the possession of a legislative working majority, the Democrats advanced boldly where they had hardly dared to tread before. On January 21, a week after the legislature had convened, the *Daily True American* announced a popular demand that the action of the 1866 extra session be rescinded. Noting that the main feature of the amendment was to give the Negro in all states the right to vote and to hold office, it found in the last election a clear indication that the voters wanted none of this.³¹

In answer to the "demands" of the people, Chairman Winfield of the Senate Judiciary Committee reported a joint resolution on January 28, withdrawing New Jersey's assent to the Fourteenth Amendment. The resolution declared: that until an amendment is ratified by three-fourths of the states, any state

³⁰*Daily State Gazette*, January 3, 1868.

³¹*Daily True American*, January 21, 1868.

has the right to withdraw its consent; that the amendment was proposed by less than the constitutional two-thirds in Congress; that if the amendment were adopted, Congress would claim the power to enforce Negro suffrage in New Jersey; that the amendment served as a pretext to split the Union until Negro suffrage could be forced upon the South by military despotism; that several distinct propositions to which no one objected had been included in the amendment merely to mislead the people; and that any ratification of an amendment which was obtained by counting only the legislatures of such states as a partisan Congressional majority might choose to recognize was fraudulent, unconstitutional, and void.³²

The resolution, complete in other respects, omitted one major charge which still rankled in the minds of New Jersey Democrats. In order to have the record complete, Senator Winfield therefore withdrew his resolution and submitted another in its stead. The new section read in part:

. . . But finding that two-thirds of the remainder of said houses could not be brought to assent to said proposition [the Fourteenth Amendment] they [the authors of the amendment] deliberately formed and carried out the design of mutilating the integrity of the United States senate, and without any pretext or justification, other than the possession of the power, without the right, and in palpable violation of the constitution, ejected a member of their body, representing this state, and thus practically denied to New Jersey its equal suffrage in the senate, and thereby nominally secured the vote of two-thirds of the said houses.³³

There was considerable debate, in which the Democrats charged that the amendment was illegal because a full two-thirds majority in Congress had not approved it. The Republicans countered with a protest that the measure before the legislature was illegal, since a ratification could not be rescinded. The resolution was approved by both houses nevertheless, on strict party lines.

Governor Ward's veto of the joint resolution on February 25 was an ineffective gesture, for the New Jersey constitution stipulated that only a legislative majority was necessary to override a veto. Along with the returned resolution, the governor submitted his reasons. Passage of the resolution, he stated, would be

³²*Ibid.*, January 29, 1868.

³³*Ibid.*, February 19, 1868.

invalid, because the state had no power to rescind its previous action. If any doubt existed as to the power of a legislature to withdraw its approval before the amendment had been ratified by the necessary three-fourth of all the states, he insisted, it was certainly nowhere supposed that such approval could *afterward* be withdrawn. This contention was based upon the fact that three-quarters of the loyal states had already ratified the amendment, a number deemed sufficient by the governor.³⁴

The debate which followed in the Senate was probably conducted more for the benefit of constituents at home than for the members of that body. When the vote was tallied on the question of overriding the veto, party regularity was firmly in the saddle and the resolution was again approved, eleven to nine.

However, the Republicans of the Senate were not done with the matter, for on March 12 a protest, signed by the nine senators, was submitted. Their protestation against the rescinding resolution rested upon the following arguments: the ratification of an amendment to the Constitution could not be withdrawn; the assent given by New Jersey therefore was still operative; because the Southern states remained outside the Union, the amendment, ratified by three-fourths of the loyal states, was either a part of the Constitution or it must wait until the Southern states were constitutionally restored, during which period the ratification was beyond withdrawal; the doctrine that a state might withdraw its ratification was a doctrine of secession; the people of New Jersey approved the ratification of the amendment; and finally, the preamble of the joint resolution was full of falsities and was disrespectful of the United States Congress and of the legislatures and the peoples of those states (including New Jersey) which had ratified the amendment.³⁵

On March 24, the joint resolution came before the Assembly and was passed by a vote of forty-five to thirteen. A Republican attempt to place the protest submitted by Senate Republicans upon the minutes was refused, the Democrats claiming that for reasons of economy it was sufficient to record it only in the Senate journal.³⁶

³⁴*Senate Journal*, 1868, pp. 249-53.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 404-07.

³⁶*Minutes of Assembly*, 1868, p. 743.

The joint resolution, formally passed over the veto of Governor Ward, was forwarded to Congressman Haight to be read before the House of Representatives. Congress was not, however, in a receptive mood on March 30. The clerk succeeded in reading only a portion of the joint resolution before he was interrupted by Representative Washburne of Illinois, who offered the following:

Resolved, That the resolution of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, purporting to withdraw the assent of said State to the constitutional amendment known as the fourteenth amendment, be returned by the Speaker of the House to the gentleman who presented it, for the reason that the same is disrespectful to the House and scandalous in character, and that its title only shall be referred to in the Journal of the House and in the Congressional Globe.³⁷

Although a few Democrats protested against terming the joint resolution "disrespectful" and "scandalous" without even having heard it through, their voices were of no avail and the resolution was carried by a vote of eighty to seventeen—ninety-two not voting.

The *State Gazette* gleefully reported the Washington proceedings but was somewhat mystified as to the Democratic reasons for notifying Congress of the rescinding action, when a communication to the Secretary of State would have been sufficient.³⁸ The Democratic *True American* observed that the resolution had been "too strong a dose for the weak stomachs of the miserable faction which . . . has control of the legislative branch of the federal government."³⁹

When Congressman Haight returned the joint resolution, along with a copy of the proceedings from the *Congressional Globe*, to the state Senate on April 16, Democratic members of the House greeted it with a series of concurrent resolutions. Introduced by Senator Winfield, these resolutions declared that the Congressional action upon the resolution violated the national and constitutional rights of the people of New Jersey; the joint resolution was disrespectful to the House only insofar as it cited the acts of that body, and scandalous only because it cited the scandalous proceedings of Congress; the attempt to

³⁷*Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 2226.

³⁸*Daily State Gazette*, April 1, 1868.

³⁹*Daily True American*, April 1, 1868.

have only the title of the resolution recorded in the journal and the *Congressional Globe* had made the record untruthful and unfaithful.⁴⁰

Not dismayed by this Democratic attempt to retrieve the offensive, Senator Hays of Essex offered two resolutions designed to embarrass his political opponents. One called for the appointment of a committee whose purpose would be to inquire into the condition of the arms, ordnance, and munitions of war at the State Arsenal. The other suggested that the legislature send a copy of the proposed concurrent resolutions to President Johnson, "as a marked token of their respect and sympathy with him in his unflinching antagonism to the loyal Congress."⁴¹ Both resolutions of course were lost by the usual partisan majorities and the concurrent resolutions were approved in the same manner. The Assembly concurred with the Senate action on the same day.

This was the last recorded action upon the Fourteenth Amendment in New Jersey. On July 20, Secretary of State Seward, although doubting that the ratifications by several Southern legislatures were valid, issued a rather ambiguous proclamation declaring the amendment to be in force. At the same time he pointed out that the Secretary is not authorized to decide doubtful questions, as to the authenticity of a state legislature, or its right to withdraw or rescind an act of ratification. The amendment had been ratified, he announced, by the legislatures of twenty-three states and it appeared to have been ratified by newly constituted bodies "avowing themselves to be and acting as" the legislatures of six Southern states.

Now, therefore . . . I . . . certify that if the resolutions of the Legislatures of Ohio and New Jersey, ratifying the . . . amendment, are . . . of full force . . . notwithstanding the subsequent resolutions . . . then the . . . amendment has been ratified in the manner hereinbefore mentioned and so becomes valid.⁴²

Congress was hardly satisfied with this masterful equivocation and thereupon settled the matter by passing a concurrent resolution in which the Fourteenth Amendment was declared to be in full force.

⁴⁰*Senate Journal*, 1868, pp. 856-57.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 858-59.

⁴²J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), pp. 787-88.

And We Replied

ELMER T. HUTCHINSON

DURING the years in which the writer has served as corresponding secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, he has had occasion to answer several thousand letters, most of them in the nature of inquiries. While many of the topics dealt with have been of little general significance, others have touched upon interesting and sometimes important facets of New Jersey history. Below are described a few of the subjects represented in correspondence of the past year.*

A correspondent, engaged in the study of family and social life in bygone days, asked for information concerning the whereabouts and accessibility of early New Jersey wills. In the course of his letter he referred to the abstracts of wills, published by this state as part of the *New Jersey Archives*, as a source that had contributed materially to his investigations. Of special interest are the various measures by which the testator provided for his widow's welfare. In this connection our correspondent mentioned several instances where a testator, in devising his shop or business to his helpmeet, anticipated some of the difficulties that would confront her by incorporating in his will detailed instructions pertaining to the business, its operation and prices, with a word of caution on the granting of credit. In furnishing the desired information, your Secretary called attention to an unusual tombstone inscription. This curious epitaph sustains the belief that such admonition was not taken lightly but in some instances carried a step or two farther: "Sacred to the memory of Jonathan Chambers, a pious Christian and affectionate husband. His disconsolate widow continues his general store at the old stand and sells at the lowest prices in town."

Possibly the recent agitation over federal price control prompted the following query. "During the course of my reading I have met with several references indicating that price ceilings

*Reported at the Society's annual meeting in October, 1951. The formal portion of Mr. Hutchinson's statement will be included with the reports of other officers, to be published and distributed separately.

are not without precedent in New Jersey. Should such inference be supported by recorded history, may I ask the occasion for such legislation and the date of its enactment?"

Yes, price controls were adopted and enforced somewhat less than four months before New Jersey ceased to be a colony. On March 15, 1776, the Committee of Safety for the Township of Newark, considering a petition signed by many of its inhabitants, recognized the need for measures dealing with shortages of certain commodities which resulted from the currently strained relations between the colonies and Great Britain. To prevent the undue advantage to which this situation might be turned by a fortunate few, it resolved to regulate the prices of the following West India imports sold within the township: West India rum; Jamaica spirits; molasses; coffee; chocolate; lump, loaf, and Muscavado sugar; salt and pepper.

In this regulation, based on similar price ceilings adopted by New York, the Newark Committee made provision for loss due to measuring, waste, cartage, and compensation for buying and selling. By way of penalty it was provided, for violation of its conditions, that such vendor or retailer "Shall be exposed by name to public view as an enemy to his country . . ." and that "neither his person nor estate will receive protection from this Committee."

Subsequently, on December 10, 1777, the legislature passed an act "Limiting the prices of sundry articles of produce, manufacture and trade, including salt, hides, shoes, wheat, rye, corn, oats, buckwheat, hay, pork, beef, potatoes, wool, flax, cider, butter, cheese, sugar, molasses, etc." The penalties provided for non-compliance with the provisions of this act were set forth—"a forfeit of six pounds and the goods, to be recovered before a justice." Also included in the act was a stipulation that "Farm labour and wages of mechanics, tradesmen and handicraftmen be double what they were in the year 1775." Among the many hailed before justices and the Committee of Safety for violation of this act was Samuel Smith, the popular Boniface of Elizabethtown, who was fined thirty-seven pounds, two shillings and sixpence "for charging more for provisions, lodgings, etc., than the rates affixed by law." According to record, the fine was collected.

A correspondent requested information on the origin and

meaning of the term turnpike as applied to a toll road, and also of the designation shunpike as applied to certain other roads. Use of the word turnpike is said to have originated in England during the middle part of the 17th century and to have been derived from the use of a horizontal bar surmounted with spikes or pikes that could be turned back readily, giving free access to the road after a toll had been paid. With the passing of time, the pikes were removed and the turnpike became merely a hinged bar or wide gate that was unfastened and swung back by the tollkeeper.

Roads somewhat parallel with a turnpike, by which the public might, without payment of tolls, reach the towns and villages served by the turnpike, were referred to as shunpikes. The first toll road in New Jersey was the Morris Turnpike, chartered by an act of March 9, 1801. This road ran from Elizabethtown through Morristown and Newton, over the Minisink Mountain at Culver's Gap to the Delaware River opposite Milford. That section lying between Elizabethtown and Springfield was rarely used by residents of these towns, who preferred the tollfree Vauxhall road. Thus by "shunning" the turnpike, the Vauxhall road became the first in this state to be known as a "shunpike."

Among other questions, we were asked whether the name Hackettstown was coeval with the settlement of that village. The settlement of Hackettstown, which antedates the Revolution by some years, was originally known as Crow Valley. Resenting the opprobrium reflected by this disparaging designation, Samuel Hackett, landlord of the local tavern, called a meeting at his house to select a new name for the village. While the meeting was well attended, it failed to agree, whereupon Hackett proposed it be named for the man who would donate the most apple brandy. Approval being unanimous, the old man announced he was desirous of fame and would give a hogshead of good Jersey applejack. As none of the group was able to equal, much less exceed, the quantity offered, he received the honor—hence Hackettstown.

Incidents associated with New Jersey's participation in the Revolutionary War continued to be a subject of frequent inquiry. A correspondent asked whether Molly Pitcher, reputed

heroine of the Battle of Monmouth, was an actual or mythical person; if the former, whether her surname was Pitcher; if she was by birth or residence a Jerseyite; also the place and date of birth and death; and under what circumstances she happened to be on the field while the battle was in progress.

Molly, as we all know, is credited with two outstanding acts of valor during the battle. First, by supplying water to her husband and other cannoneers of General Hugh Knox's artillery brigade, and second, by voluntarily taking the place of her disabled husband and continuing his gun in action. Yes, Molly Pitcher was a living person and, by both birth and residence, a Jerseyite. However, her name was not Pitcher.

While it is alleged she was a daughter of John Hanna of Allentown, N. J., the preponderance of evidence identifies her as Mary, daughter of John George Ludwig, a Palatine who migrated from Germany and settled in New Jersey, where we find him occupying a farm between Trenton and Princeton. The date of Mary's birth is recorded as October 13, 1744. At an early age she was employed as a house servant in the family of William Irvine of Carlisle, Pa. It was while living there, on July 24, 1769, that she became the wife of John Casper Hayes, the village barber.

In January, 1777, Hayes enlisted in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by his wife's former employer, Colonel William Irvine, whereupon she returned to the home of her father in New Jersey. A few days before the affair at Monmouth, news reached her that her husband's regiment was in New Jersey, proceeding to the vicinity of Freehold. She immediately set off to visit him, arriving in camp on the eve of battle.

The Battle of Monmouth was fought on Sunday, June 28, 1778, an exceedingly hot day, the temperature at one time being ninety-six degrees in the shade. While the battle was in progress, Molly procured a swab bucket—part of a cannoneer's equipment—and made her way back and forth from Spotswood South Brook, located a short distance away. On one of her return trips she found her husband lying on the ground, exhausted from fatigue and the heat. Immediately she took his place and remained with the gun until the line of battle shifted and the cannon was removed. It was upon these acts that her fame rests.

While no confirming evidence has been found to support the story, tradition has it that on the following morning General Greene presented her to General Washington, who conferred upon her a sergeant's warrant. Be that as it may, on February 27, 1822, the Pennsylvania legislature granted her the sum of forty dollars, as well as an annuity of like amount, in recognition of her Revolutionary service. A few years after the war, her husband having died, she married John McCauley of Carlisle, Pa., where for a time the couple resided at the corner of North and Bedford streets. Her death occurred on January 22, 1832, and she was buried in the old Carlisle Cemetery.

On July 4, 1876, during the course of their centennial celebration, the citizens of Cumberland County, Pa., erected above Molly's grave an imposing monument to memorialize the heroine of Monmouth. Another testimonial to Mary's prowess is a bas-relief on one side of the Monmouth Battle Monument at Freehold in which she is shown ramming a cannon while her husband lies prostrate.

It might be added that the popular story of her having brought water in a pitcher, which occasioned her nickname, is without historical authority. Then there is another historical inaccuracy that persists. Some years ago a signpost was erected beside a well located close to the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks about midway between Englishtown and Freehold, bearing the legend "Molly Pitcher's Well." Not only was the water carried by Molly obtained from Spotswood South Brook, but the well thus accredited as the source of Molly's supply was dug about the time of the Civil War by Dr. J. C. Thomson, who occupied the property at that time.

A recent inquiry concerning the ancestry and descendants of General David Forman of Freehold recalls an anecdote popular during post-revolutionary days in that vicinity. A Jerseyman was endeavoring to impress upon a Bostonian the outstanding valor of General Forman, a well remembered hero of the Battle of Monmouth and nemesis of the British and Tories of Monmouth County. "I'll bet you never had anyone around Boston whose bravery equalled his." "Did you ever hear of Paul Revere?" asked the Bostonian. "Paul Revere," retorted the Jerseyman. "Wasn't he the chap who ran for help even before the fracas started?"

Early Campaigns in North Carolina

The Diary of Private Edmund J. Cleveland, Company K,
9th New Jersey Volunteers

EDITED BY EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR.

[Continued from Volume 69, page 386]

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1863

Great excitement in camp over re-enlistment. A large crowd has been around Lt. Pullen's tent all day. It is understood that if one-third of the regiment re-enlists we will be allowed to go home and recruit until January.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1863

On guard. Papers of yesterday confirm the news of Grant's victory over Bragg. In regard to re-enlistment, it is now stated if three-fourths of the regiment or if a single company re-enlists for three years, the "veterans" will be allowed to go home and recruit. The "Anti-Vets," those who do not re-enlist, will remain to serve out their term. The boys, generally, think this unfair. It is too much like forcing men into service.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1863

On guard. It rained all the time I walked my beat this morning. On account of the storm all duty has been suspended.

I had quite a conversation with a member of Co. A, 25th Mass. He says that the "big fellow with a black moustache," who sang a solo at the Thanksgiving service, is a scamp and belongs to his company.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1863

The weather is much cooler. Had a rather windy company drill under the command of Sergt. Bryant. At dress parade, an order from Gen. Butler directed that the usual furloughs be stopped and a thirty day furlough be granted to those who re-enlist. We think this rather mean. Those who have faithfully served for more than two years will be deprived of long-

expected furloughs because they will not volunteer for three years longer. It may be that this will be more of a detriment than an incentive to re-enlistment.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1863

Winter has arrived but the sun shone beautifully today. It was so cold in our tent that a bottle of medicine which Peer had was frozen solid.

We are not allowed to wear gloves at dress parade, until we can have every pair alike. Lt. Townley says we will be paid tomorrow so that each one will be able to buy a pair of buck-skin gloves. More money in the sutler's pocket.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1863

Today's principal event is the visit of the paymaster to camp. War news is so good that it is difficult to get a newspaper.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1863

This morning I gave Wm. E. Townley \$18 to be sent to his father and deposited to my account in the Elizabeth Institution of Savings.

There is a subscription list being circulated in the company for the benefit of our discharged comrade, Reuben Chester, Goshen, Cape May County, N. J. He is unable to help himself. \$25 has already been contributed.

Today has been the most pleasant of the week.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1863

Sergt. Wright expressed from Fortress Monroe today, a large sum of money for the boys. Mine was with Bill Townley's pile.

Negro Zouaves occupy a log house inside the fortifications. Their uniform consists of a dark blue jacket and pants trimmed with red, red sash around waist, white leggins and a dark blue cap with green tassel.

"The Battle Cry of Freedom" is becoming a very popular song. I heard the drum corps of the 27th Mass. play it today.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1863

A rather pleasant day. From the doings it would seem that we are to remain here for some time.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1863

Today it is much colder. Col. Cook of Paterson, N. J., has been in camp. He says that Paterson gives \$300 bounty to "veterans" for re-enlisting, other towns only \$200 or \$250. Many of the boys have given him their names. The colonel will take them to Jersey at once and the boys will get this money in three days.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1863

Winans bought a barrel of apples for \$7 and is retailing them to boys at the rate of 5 for 10 cents. The boys of Tent No. 2 have been playing cards and dominoes for apples, loser to buy 10c worth of apples, one for each winner and one for the game keeper.

A number of "veterans" were sworn in by Adjutant Carroll today.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1863

At 9:00 a.m. we were notified to prepare for a review by Gen. Butler at 11:45 a.m. As usual, there was a large number of spectators. The boys marched well, showing marked improvement over previous occasions. Gen. Butler is a rather good looking man, short in stature and somewhat corpulent. His upper lip is graced with a light moustache and his head is partly bald. But his oculars, unfortunately, are set in such positions as to look in contrary directions. He rode a cream colored horse. One of the boys heard him say to one of his staff that the men looked very well but, according to regulations, they ought to carry knapsacks. So I suppose that we will have to "lug our duds" at the next review.

While the boat bearing Gen. Butler went down the river, the other vessels saluted. The General and others went aboard the "Minnesota." One of the boys said that they were all pretty well exhilarated before they parted. What a pity that we cannot enjoy the same privilege!

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1863

—— of our company wishes to re-enlist as a "veteran." Lt. Townley objected, accusing —— of being a coward. —— went to the colonel about it but I have not heard what satisfac-

tion — got. Lt. Townley is anxious to get him out of the company.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1863. "*Hotel de Hard Bread*"

This morning the 27th Mass. left this post for provost duty at Norfolk. Before leaving they gave Gen. Hickman three rousing cheers.

While we were at company drill orders came to get ready to move to the camp of the 27th Mass. immediately after dinner. A squad of us was sent to guard the A tents which were stockaded and in excellent condition. "Tent No. 2" consists of three tents close to each other. On the outside is a sign, "*Hotel de Hard Bread*," put up by the former occupants. Inside things are arranged nicely, clothing rack, a little wood shed and a wooden latch on the door. All of the boys are in excellent spirits.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1863

After taps last night the 21st Conn. from Portsmouth landed at this post and marched to our old camp and took up their quarters in the old Sibley tents. I guess we got the advantage by moving soon. We understand that the 21st Conn. "cussed out" the Ninth N. J.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1863

Gave my rifle a good scouring today.

Gen. Butler issued an order to promote the enlistment of negroes. If we are fighting for their freedom it is no more than right that they should help us.

Today a mule team ran away, throwing the teamster from the army wagon. He was picked up and taken to the hospital.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1863

Owing to the stormy weather, no inspections this morning. It cleared off later and it has been like spring ever since. There was service in the chapel this morning and will be this evening at eight o'clock. I think that I shall attend.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1863

Last night Steve Crane and I set out for Church so early as to be ahead of the lighting up. Then we went back to Steve's hut and listened to Jerry Decker reading a book. We were so en-

raptured that when we reached the chapel again we found that we were late. The place was so crowded that we could not get in. We returned to camp much disappointed.

We have an accession to "Hotel de Hard Bread" in the shape of a diminutive kitten. It is quite a pet.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1863

For a wonder there were no drills today. A general detail has been digging ditches in front of the camp and by the cook houses.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1863

There was heavy cannonading up the river this morning. Some thought that it was from the gun boats shelling the woods on shore for guerillas. But I guess it was only target practice.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1863

This afternoon a detail of fifteen men, myself among the number, attempted to raise a 73 ft. flag staff in front of the colonel's quarters. A heavy shower prevented us from getting it up.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1863

Detailed guard supernumerary. The flag staff was raised this morning and now the American colors float over our little city of tents.

Corp. Townley received a large box from home, containing a lot of useful articles and many delicacies. The corporal has been very generous in distributing the cakes.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1863

On guard. It is the coldest day I have experienced in the south. The men are being served rations of wood by the commissary.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1863

We were reminded of the coolness of the season last night by turning out at 12:30 p.m. to let the "grand rounds" view us, and standing guard several times in the frigid atmosphere. When we went to the little pond near the river, where we wash every morning, we had to break ice a half an inch thick which covered it.

[To Be Continued]

SMALL & SUNDRY

Carlstadt in 1870

Near the Erie Railroad, on a hill rising from the Hackensack meadows, "... a new town called Carlstadt has sprung into vigorous existence during the last few years. It is inhabited almost entirely by Germans; the streets are lined with stores labeled with handsome signs, nearly every one of which bears a German name; you will scarcely find a middle-aged or elderly man or woman who can speak English, but it may be comforting to those who apprehend a tendency toward heterogeneity among our population, of which this might be taken as an indication; it may reassure such, we say, to know that all the young people and the very children, almost invariably speak English! Even the little three-year-old encased in huge-bottomed trousers, and playing marbles on the sidewalk, when asked in German what he is doing, responds as naturally as can be, 'I'm shooting marbles.' How these mere children learn English is a mystery; probably they drink it in with the American air, whose purity is proof against even so decidedly a German atmosphere as is to be perceived at Carlstadt ..."—Paterson *Daily Press*, February 9, 1870.

On the Italian

People of New Jersey, long familiar with immigrants of German and Irish origin, in 1871 found in

the presence of newly-arrived Italians a source of great curiosity:

"Italians are queer sort of fellows. They go about our town [New Brunswick] with their instruments, seeking what money they may devour. Most of these Garribaldian countrymen, are organ and patience grinders; but we met one today who performed on 'the Dulcimer,' an ancient piano, in a very superior manner. He also showed himself as superior in collecting the filthy lucre. The most surprising part of his performances, though, was that he passed a sword of two feet down his throat."—New Brunswick *Daily Fredonian*, September 27, 1871.

Dr. Franklin's Head

It appears that a wooden sign bearing the painted likeness of Benjamin Franklin once adorned the office of the Newark *Centinel of Freedom*. In the columns of that newspaper, March 22, 1814, is found the following irate notice:

"A Card—The Editors of the *Centinel* present their compliments to the *Nocturnal Visitors*, who on Wednesday evening last, committed an unprovoked assault and battery on Dr. *Franklin's Head*, over our Office door, and much crippled the old gentleman. If these disturbers of the peace must take the 'liberty' of molesting the old man, it would be gratifying to us were he treated with greater *tenderness*; — for we

wish neither to employ *Physicians* to set his bones — nor fee *professional* men to prosecute the cowardly aggressors.

"An outrage similar to the above was committed on our property last fall. We passed it over in silence; in confident expectation that when the *head* became more settled — and *conscience* could exercise its functions, the perpetrators themselves would be *ashamed* of such unwitty, wicked and ungentlemen-like conduct — and a repetition would not be attempted. But as our charitable hopes have not been realised, we feel it a duty we owe ourselves and neighbors, whose property has also been injured, to offer a reward of Twenty Dollars to any person who will make known to us the names of the *gentleman* or *gentlemen*, who took down and broke our sign on the evening of the 16th inst. so that they may be brought to experience the punishment which their conduct has merited, and which has rendered them culpable in the eyes of the law — and receive that exposure

and contempt which the public cannot fail to heap on them should their names become public."

Grisly Little Risley

"One of the most astonishing displays of muscular power and agility we have seen, was in the performance of Master Risley, a lad six years of age, attached to the Circus of Welch & Mann, which visited this place [Flemington] on Monday [September 5, 1842]. The grace and ease and confidence with which he performs his wonderful feats, (feats which no *man* could accomplish,) cannot fail to strike the beholder with astonishment and admiration. He is indeed a prodigy — and exhibits in his form all the symmetry of the most perfect specimen of a full grown man. His power is natural, though doubtless greatly improved and more fully developed by the rigid training of his father, by whom he is assisted. They are natives of Burlington County, N. J." — *Hunterdon Gazette*, Flemington, September 7, 1842.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

AMONG the new features inaugurated with this issue of the *Proceedings* is a space approximately called the "Director's Diary." In it your director has been asked to chat formally about historical activities throughout the state. Perhaps the best place to start is with our own Society, about which there is much to tell you.

To begin the season, the formal opening of a new exhibition, "Early New Jersey Home Life and Industry," was held on Saturday, September 29, at which Dr. Louis C. Jones, director of the New York State Historical Association, spoke. One hundred and fifty members and their friends attended. The exhibition has become a popular feature of our museum and is being used to a considerable extent by social studies classes from schools in Newark and the surrounding area. They spend an hour or so seated in the gallery and watch a series of demonstrations on the uses of early household articles, many of which are the hand-operated equivalents of our modern electrically powered appliances. Considerable time is also devoted to an explanation of the way in which cloth was made through the use of a flax brake, scutching block, hetchels, spinning wheel, clock reel and loom, all of which are operated. This program is also being made available to adult groups who plan to visit the Society.

Vice-Admiral Harold G. Bowen, USN (Ret.), was guest speaker at our annual meeting, held on Octo-

ber 31. As executive director of the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation, he spoke on "Thomas A. Edison—a Reappraisal." Supplementing his talk was a special exhibition of Edison's four basic inventions: the electric light, the motion picture, the phonograph, and the "Edison Effect," which concerns the beginnings of electronics.

The annual meeting was followed on November 16 by a program sponsored jointly by the Society and the Railroadians of America to mark the hundredth anniversary of the Erie and of the Lackawanna Railroad. A loan exhibition displaying memorabilia from both railroads was previewed by those present, who also heard an address by Mr. T. J. Sanok, assistant general manager of the Erie Railroad, and witnessed two color motion pictures, "Fast Freight" and a film lent by the Lackawanna, "What Do You Know of New Jersey?"

A series of ten Saturday morning film programs for adults and teen-agers, entitled "A Film Pageant of America," was begun on October 6. The series portrayed chronologically the development of our coun-

try from the landing of the Pilgrims through World War II. A total of twenty-seven films were shown, including "Land of Liberty," first produced for the New York and San Francisco world's fairs in 1939 and made up of sequences from many motion pictures to give a panorama of our past; "18th Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia," a color film depicting a typical day in the life of a middle class family about 1750; biographical films on Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Jackson, and Teddy Roosevelt; and "Two Decades in History," a film made up of selections from over two million feet of Paramount newsreels. The last program was held on December 8th.

The Society is co-operating with the New Jersey Council for Social Studies in planning a number of services for grade school and high school teachers. Among the measures under consideration are loan exhibits set aside for school use, a periodic "open house" offering to teachers an opportunity to know

the Society and its collections, and the eventual production of a series of film strips on state history.

Your director represented the Society on television on November 12, when he, with Dr. McCormick, participated in a program sponsored by Rutgers University on "First Things in New Jersey." Among the topics discussed was John Stevens' first locomotive and a small model from the Transportation Collection was displayed.

Various kindred organizations have used our facilities during the fall. Their functions included an evening meeting of the New Jersey Society, Sons of the American Revolution, on October 26, and afternoon meetings of the Board of East Jersey Proprietors on October 16, the New Jersey Huguenot Society on November 10, the Middle Atlantic States Council for the Social Studies on December 8, and a reception for the wives of members of the Middle Atlantic Section, American Society for Engineering Education, meeting December 1 in convention at Newark.

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

Mrs. Olga Atkins, responsible for historic sites for the State Department of Conservation and Economic Development, reports numerous activities at the von Steuben house in North Hackensack, which will celebrate its 200th anniversary in 1952. During October a special exhibit on Indians was arranged there. This was followed, in November, by a display of paintings of historical buildings. Part of the program already under way is connected

with the churches of the area. Each month one of the older churches in or near Hackensack conducts its Sunday service with the theme and sermon related to a specific historical incident.

During the summer of 1951, the agency co-operated with those of other states in the thirteen-colony anniversary observance which took place at Philadelphia in July. From the Department's "state historic houses" came loans of Washington's

trunk and pewter washbasin and the coat worn by Colonel Rall when he led the Hessians in the Battle of Trenton. A number of the state historic houses, incidentally, are now undergoing extensive repairs in heating equipment, plumbing, and interior painting.

For the eighth consecutive year, state affairs of industry, government, community welfare, and history are being presented to radio audiences tuned to the "This Is New Jersey" radio series. The New Jersey Manufacturers Association continues the co-operation begun last year. When the current series started in October, 1951, thirty-nine broadcast of each weekly program were scheduled. Radio stations in all parts of the state, and in adjoining areas of Pennsylvania, carry the series as a public interest feature. Broadcast time varies with each station and is set to accommodate high school and adult listening audiences. Because the programs often depict industry's role in the state, "This Is New Jersey" programs are sometimes presented on the loud speaker systems in manufacturing concerns so that employees may hear the fifteen-minute documentary stories while they work. An all-professional cast prepares the dramatizations while on-the-spot recordings of sound effects and voices add authentic realism to the story.

Realizing that Burlington County had a wealth of historical information in the person of long-time resident Nathaniel R. Ewan, representatives of county organizations headed by Miss Hazel Clark, county librarian, and Miss Alma Pren-

tice, helping teacher, appealed to the state for recommendations on how to proceed. William H. King, state co-ordinator of audio-visual aids in the Department of Education, recorded Mr. Ewan's narratives. Mrs. Arlene R. Sayre, editor for the Conservation Department, assisted with the scripts and interviewed Mr. Ewan on matters of local interest related to the general reports he had written. Among the subjects so far recorded are early schools, agriculture, building, handicrafts, and transportation. After the recordings are completed, they will be made available for Burlington County schools and organizations. Eventually it is hoped to supplement the recorded material with photographs and slides showing areas and buildings described in the narration.

The Cumberland County Historical Society paid their annual rent of one pound of tea to the Society of Friends at their Greenwich meeting house on October 13. A capacity crowd watched while Francis A. Stanger, vice-president of the Historical Society, presented the tea to Miss Margaret Goodwin, a lineal descendant of the worshippers who attended the old meeting house. Joining with the Cumberland society on this occasion was the Burlington County Historical Society. Mrs. Howard B. Hancock, president of the former organization, presided. On November 14 your director was guest speaker at a joint meeting in Vineland of the Cumberland County Historical Society and the Vineland Historical Society. Also appearing on the program

were Mrs. Aline K. Wolcott, president of the Burlington County Historical Society, and Mrs. Robert T. Weatherill, president of the Gloucester County Historical Society in Woodbury.

The Camden County Historical Society has completed rearrangement of some 250 of its pictures by regrouping and hanging them from newly installed picture molding. Other exhibits were also reinstalled, such as a 1747 volunteer fire engine and a section of the *chevaux-de-frise* used to block the Delaware during the Revolution. When Camden County recently issued a county road map, the Society was able to furnish original illustrations for twenty-five of the historic buildings indicated thereon, which were reproduced on the reverse of the map. A well attended pilgrimage was made on October 13 to Princeton and Rocky Hill. Albert J. Corcoran was chairman of the program committee. J. Weer Chew is president and Edgar H. Havens secretary and curator.

Pilgrimages were also undertaken by the Ocean County Historical Society and by the Paramus Historical Society, both on October 27. The latter visited the Hackensack Church on the Green, oldest church in Bergen County, dating from 1686, and a number of old homes in the area, including the Ackerman-Davis house, one wing of which was built in 1734, the New Bridge Inn, and the Zabriskie-von Steuben house, both erected about 1739. The last-named is now headquarters of the Bergen County Historical Society. Mr. Pierre Zabriskie

was elected president of the Paramus Historical Society for the year 1951-52.

The Ocean County society took its pilgrimage to the mother county of Monmouth, led by its president, Dr. Joshua Hillard of Manahawken. Forty members enjoyed the all-day outing by bus, leaving the 1850 courthouse in Toms River at 10:30 A.M. and journeying to Old Tennent Church and burial ground and the museum of the Monmouth County Historical Association at Freehold, returning by 5:30 P.M. to the Ocean County capitol.

The same society has supplied each of the thirteen Ocean County newspapers with a series of historic dates in the history of the county from 1609, date of Sebastian Cabot's voyage, to the celebration of the 1950 centennial. They were compiled by Mr. Jack Lamping, corresponding secretary, and mailed to the press for publication by Mrs. Virginia Watson Reeve, recording secretary. The *Ocean County Sun* at Toms River has done an outstanding job in printing the series for the past fifty weeks. The dates are to be published for the Society by the Board of Chosen Freeholders in connection with the dedication of two new wing additions to the courthouse in Toms River at the beginning of the new year.

Miss Minnie G. Courtney of Manahawken, financial secretary and membership chairman of the Ocean County society, reports nearly four hundred members on its roster, with a goal of five hundred by Christmas, 1951. The Society has

lent its display case and collection of seven Lenape Indian skeletons from the Gilford Park "dig" of August, 1949, to the New Jersey State Museum at Trenton for permanent exhibition. It had been part of the 1950 centennial museum display in Toms River during the past year, along with five hundred other relics of the county history.

The Hopewell Library-Museum reports the receipt of thirty-one pieces of dark blue china, forty pieces of early American glass, a copper lustre cider pitcher, six iron cooking utensils, a large butter tray and ladle, the bequest of Laura H. Weart.

In addition to its work reported by Mrs. Atkins of the Conservation Department, the Bergen County Historical Society is emphasizing other educational activities. By scheduled arrangement, high school classes visit the headquarters at the Zabriskie-von Steuben house at least once each school year. Approximately thirty-three hundred visitors have been counted during the months of August, September, and October with a total annual figure anticipated at about fifteen thousand.

At Haddonfield, the Historical Society is marking the 250th anniversary of the arrival of Elizabeth Haddon in 1701. The summer meeting, held in July, featured an address by Richmond P. Miller, secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who spoke on Elizabeth Haddon, dealing in particular with her early life prior to her arrival in America. The November meeting carried on the theme by the reading of a paper on

Ebenezer Hopkins, nephew of Elizabeth Haddon, prepared by one of his descendants.

The New Jersey Society of Colonial Dames has undertaken restoration of the Brainerd Street schoolhouse in Mount Holly, constructed in 1759 by a group of public-spirited citizens, Quakers, Episcopalians, and Methodists, who had formed an association and entered into articles of agreement to raise a stock fund for the education of youth. The schoolhouse was presented to the Colonial Dames last spring by the Female Benevolent Association. Upon completion of the restoration, the building will house an exhibition of early school books and other items pertaining to early education in New Jersey. Mrs. Joseph L. Bodine of 808 Crown Street, Morrisville, N.J., is presently gathering material for the exhibition.

The fall meeting of the Archeological Society of New Jersey was held at the State Museum in Trenton on October 20. Following luncheon at the Stacy Trent Hotel, two talks were presented: "Famous Aboriginal Workshop of Flint Ridge, Ohio," by Charles F. Kier, Jr., and "Recent Maya Archeological Research in British Honduras," by Dr. Linton Satterthwaite, Jr.

Mr. Harold F. Wilson of State Teachers College, Glassboro, was the principal speaker at the Atlantic County Historical Society's annual meeting in Atlantic City on November 1. The subject of his address was, appropriately enough, "The Jersey Shore," in which he outlined some of its outstanding

historical contributions, as delineated in his forthcoming book. Mr. Paul M. Cope of Atlantic City was elected president.

Mr. Francis W. Bilodeau, in charge of paintings at the Newark Museum, is eager to obtain information on the New Jersey artist, Henry Conover, who did pastels in Monmouth County between 1810

and 1831. The Museum acquired two pastel portraits attributed to him. Also among their recent acquisitions are four large photographs of the Decatur House, which stood on Park Place near the present Robert Treat Hotel in Newark. The pictures show it to have been a building of considerable architectural interest.

SPEAKING OF GIFT HORSES

Our Society, although it has many valuable holdings and considerable variety in its collections, is always eager to obtain new material pertaining to New Jersey history. From time to time we shall call attention to collections which need strengthening. In this issue we should like to mention two of them: New Jersey views and scenes, and early American (particularly New Jersey) lighting devices. At present we have a representative assortment of Newark photographs. However,

more engravings, lithographs, water colors, oils, and photographs too of the New Jersey scene are needed to round out our collections. In the field of lighting, although we have several choice items of varying types, we should be happy to acquire additional examples of all periods: the rush light holder, betty lamp, lard oil lamp, whale oil lamp, candle sticks and holders, camphine lamp, and above all, some nice Victorian kerosene lamps! Will members and readers please search their attics?

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mr. George A. Boyd has completed a manuscript on Elias Boudinot, Revolutionary statesman, which has been accepted by the Princeton University Press for publication in the fall of 1952. This work is the result of several years' intensive study and has been drawn largely from primary source material.

Mr. Jack Pole of the Graduate College, Princeton University, is beginning a doctoral dissertation on the extension of suffrage in the Middle Atlantic states. His initial and current phase pertains to New Jersey.

Mrs. Mabel V. D. Baer, 4513 Brandywine Street, N.W., Washington 16, D.C., is compiling a genealogy of the descendants of Hendrick Van Dyke (d. 1763) of Neshanic, N.J.

Mr. William C. Mulford, who has compiled several "bits" of history for the Cumberland County Historical Society, Bridgeton, N.J. is writing a short history of the Broad Street (Bridgeton) Presbyterian Church. The article will be published in the *Vineland Historical Magazine*, from which reprints will be made for distribution.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

THIS DEPARTMENT is designed to acquaint readers with what is being written on New Jersey history, places, and institutions. Books, pamphlets, government publications, and magazine articles will be listed. Occasional signed book reviews by specialists will appear. In the selection of magazine material, the term "history" will be interpreted broadly to include a few leading articles on history-in-the-making. The editors will be happy to receive notices of current or forthcoming publications on New Jersey and to learn of historical writings by members of this society. In this first issue of the new year, we present a bird's eye view of New Jersey as reflected in the magazines of 1951.

REVIEWS

Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksongs. BY CHARLES HAYWOOD. New York: Greenberg, 1951. 1292 pages.

The high cost of this encyclopedic volume (\$27.50) makes it a library item, extremely useful to scholars and folklore hobbyists. About sixty of the entries relate to New Jersey, but some of them, notably the Sam Patch and the Captain Kidd stories, are lost because their New Jersey connection is not brought out in the index. Harry Emerson Wildes' *The Delaware* is listed under New York State with no index reference to New Jersey; his *Twin Rivers: the Raritan and the Passaic* is omitted. The compiler has missed Quar-

rie's *Within a Jersey Circle*, Mellick's *Story of an Old Farm* and Schmidt's *Lesser Crossroads*. Moritz Jagendorf's *Upstate, Downstate, Folklore of the Middle States*, containing many New Jersey legends, was apparently published too late (1949) for inclusion. Here is a challenge to compile a bibliography that shall really do justice to New Jersey folklore; a difficult task, for material is scattered and fragmentary, though frequently delightful. Meanwhile Mr. Haywood's work is a valuable introduction to books, magazine articles, and university theses on New Jersey folk tales, songs, legends, proverbs, games, and Lenape Indian material.—M.V.S.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Butler, New Jersey, in Story and Pictures. BY LAWRENCE C. WASSMER, SR., AND CHARLES K. PAYNE. (Butler, N.J.: Printed by

the *Butler Argus* [copyright by the authors], 1951. 144 pages.) This outstanding town history gives a comprehensive view of

Butler's present and past, copiously illustrated with photographs. Considerable space is devoted to Butler's important rubber industry, including a section on organized labor. Fraternal, social, and civic associations are well covered. Of special interest are the pictures and story of the famous wooden fireman from Newark.

From Then to Now; a History of Cedar Grove. BY SAMUEL WARD BOARDMAN, JR. (Verona, N.J.: *Verona-Cedar Grove Times* [1951]. 32 pages.) Cedar Grove owes its development to a great road, the Pompton Turnpike. Lawyer Boardman, resident of the borough for forty years, is admirably fitted to tell its story, going back to early deeds and land grants for many of his facts. His book is worthy of larger print and more attractive format, for it is an important contribution to the history of Essex County.

Golden Jubilee of the Johnson Free Public Library. COMPILED BY THE HISTORY COMMITTEE. (Hackensack, N.J.: Johnson Free Public Library, 1951. 18 pages.)

Handbook for Parish Historians. BY VERNON BOYCE HAMPTON. (Madison, N.J.: Historical Society of the Newark Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, 1951. 11 pages.)* Dr. Hampton, president of the Newark Conference Historical Society, whose archives are in the library of Drew University, gives practical suggestions for securing materials

on local church history, looking forward to the centennial of the Conference in 1957.

History of the Livingston Baptist Church, 1851-1951. BY A. ROSS FORCE. (Caldwall, N.J.: *Provost Press*, 1951. 10 pages.)

Indian Place Names in Delaware. BY A. R. DUNLAP AND C. A. WESLAGER. (Wilmington: Archaeological Society of Delaware, 1950. 61 pages. Order from S. T. Brooks, 2106 Harrison Ave., Gwinhurst, Wilmington 278, Del.) Few New Jersey place names appear, but the bibliography and map list contain valuable New Jersey material. A fine appreciation of the late Frank Speck is included.

Indians of New Jersey. BY HERSCHEL LEE SCHENCK. (Port Elizabeth, N.J., 1951. 35 pages. Order from author, Hickole Indian Trail Museum, Delsea Drive, Port Elizabeth.)* Mr. Schenck, founder of the Society of New Jersey Artists, has illustrated his book with twelve pages of drawings of Indian life and implements. His private collection is one of the finest in this state. He is a life member of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Know Your Town: Boonton, New Jersey. COMP. AND ED. BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS. (Boonton, N.J.: Boonton Area Chamber of Commerce, 1951. 55 pages.) This study of modern Boonton is preceded by an excellent condensation of the town's history. Attractive sketch illustrations.

*Items marked by asterisk may be consulted in the Society's library.

List of File Microcopies of the National Archives. National Archives Publication No. 51-5. (Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration, 1950. 67 pages. Order from Superintendent of Documents.) Considerable source material of New Jersey interest is available on microfilm for purchase from the National Archives. Revolutionary prize cases, 1776-87, include many New Jersey vessels. Fourteen New Jersey counties are covered in the records of the Bureau of the Census, 5th Census, 1830, with names of heads of families given.

New Jersey Museums and Historic House Museums. PREPARED BY THE MUSEUMS COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY. (Trenton, N.J.: Department of Conservation and Economic Development, 1951. 14 pages.)* Brief notes on history and collections, hours and admission prices, plus a location map, make this a useful guidebook.

Newark Municipal Year Book, 1950-1951. COMP. AND ED. BY JAMES P. HIGGINS UNDER DIRECTION OF HARRY S. REICHENSTEIN. (Newark, N.J.: Board of Commissioners, 1951. 94 pages.)* Published annually since 1944, this manual combines yearly reports of city departments, names of city and county officials, and a short history of Newark's life, industries, and institutions. Photographic illustrations. There is a page on the New Jersey Historical Society.

Nineteen Fifty-Two Citizen's Date Book. (Newark, N.J.: League of Women Voters of New Jersey, 1951. 34 pages + unpagged engagement calendar.) Important facts for all voters in a pocket calendar. Includes names of state executives, court officials, and legislators, New Jersey Congressional districts and members of Congress, duties of county officials, political party officers' names and functions.

One Hundred Fifty Years' History of the First Baptist Peddie Memorial Church. (Newark, N.J.: First Baptist Peddie Memorial Church, 1951. 28 pages.)*

This is Linden; a Know Your Town Government Survey. BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF LINDEN. (Linden, N.J.: League of Women Voters, 1951. 95 pages. Address 418 Spruce Street.) This unusually thorough community survey has a very brief historical section based on a manuscript history filed in the Linden Public Library.

This is Ridgewood; a Handbook. COMP. BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF RIDGEWOOD. (Ridgewood, N.J.: The League of Women Voters, 1951. 96 pages.) Ridgewood's present government and institutions are described in relation to their past history and it is explained why Ridgewood remains an incorporated village, one of three in the entire state.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS

- "Album or Friendship Quilts," by Joan Williams, in *Antiques Journal*, November 1951, pp. 26-27. Description of a friendship quilt made at Moorestown in 1843.
- "Antique Particulars for the Particular Antiquer," by Kay Beebe, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey*, June 1951, pp. 36-37. A historic Whippany house-restaurant, The Farmstead in Whippany.
- "Better Living for Older People . . . in Millville, New Jersey," by Margaret Hickey, in *Ladies Home Journal*, April 1951, pp. 25 ff.
- "The Big Road," by Don Woodford, in *New Jersey Bell*, July-August 1951, pp. 2-9.* Story of the New Jersey Turnpike.
- "Captain Ezekiel Hand and the Case of the Charming Nancy, 1758-1772," by Elena J. Darling, in *Vineland Historical Magazine*, January-April 1950 (pub. 1951), pp. 101-06.*
- "The Case of Millville, N.J.," by Stanley Frank, in *Saturday Evening Post*, July 11, 1951, pp. 17-19 ff. Municipal corruption, uncovered in 1947.
- "Civil Defense in New Jersey," by Leonard Dreyfuss, State Director, in *New Jersey Municipalities*, June 1951, pp. 9-10. Freedoms Foundation Gold Medal has been given to Governor Driscoll for the New Jersey Civil Defense Plan. Mr. Dreyfuss and Governor Driscoll are members of the New Jersey Historical Society, the Governor a life member.
- "The Conestoga Wagon," by Norman Wilkinson, in *American Heritage*, Summer 1951, pp. 2-6.*
- Common in New Jersey long ago, the Conestoga wagon was the subject of an article in the *Proceedings* for October 1929.
- "Cooperative Project Increases Usefulness of Cooper Union's Surveying Camp," by John O. Eichler and Giles G. Green, in *Civil Engineering*, November 1951, pp. 44-45. Stream gauging at the Norvin H. Green Engineering Camp, Ringwood.
- "Cranbury and its Postal History," by Edith M. Fisher, in Sixteenth American Philatelic Congress, *Original Papers on Philatelic Themes*, 1950, pp. 53-61. Mrs. Fisher is stamp editor of the *Newark News*.
- "The Disgrace of John Kinsey, Quaker Politician, 1739-1750," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October 1951, pp. 400-15.* Woodbridge lawyer, speaker of the New Jersey Assembly, 1730.
- "An Early Novel of the American Revolution," by John T. Flanagan, in *New York History*, July 1951, pp. 316-22.* Review of *Mis MacRae, Roman Historique*, by Michel Rene Hilliard D'Auberteuil, 1784, based on the life of Jersey-born Jane McCrea.
- "Elias Boudinot and the S.U.M. at Paterson," by Robert P. Brooks, in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, July 1951, pp. 61-64.*
- "Folk Vocabulary of New York State," by Reven I. McDavid, Jr., in *New York Folklore Quarterly*, Autumn 1951, pp. 173-92. Based on field work financed by the

- Council of Learned Societies, includes a section on the Hudson Valley with references to North Jersey.
- "Fossil Watchers, Eyes of Geology," by Horace G. Richards, in *Frontiers, a Magazine of Natural History*, February 1951, pp. 68-70. Paleontologist at the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science, Dr. Richards tells how a Moorestown High School boy discovered bones of an extinct ground sloth in the New Jersey Turnpike excavation.
- "The Frank G. Speck Collection," by Anthony F. C. Wallace, in *American Philosophical Society Library Bulletin*, 1951, pp. 286-89.* This collection, acquired by the Society in 1950, is a rich source for the study of the Indians of the Eastern Woodlands.
- "Frank Goldsmith Speck, 1881-1950," by A. I. Hallowell, in *American Anthropologist*, January-March 1951, pp. 67-87. Studies of New Jersey Indian culture by Frank Speck are included in the bibliography, which follows this appreciation of the great anthropologist.
- "General Washington's Sewing Circle," by Lyman H. Butterfield, in *American Heritage*, Summer 1951, pp. 7-10 ff.* *Groups of patriotic women, including the ladies of Trenton, met to sew for Washington's army.*
- "George R. Graham, Philadelphia Publisher," by J. Albert Robbins, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, July 1951, pp. 279-94.* The editor of *Graham's Magazine*, 1841-58, lived in Orange from 1872 to his death in 1894.
- "Girls Who Find Freedom in Jail," by Ann Fields, in *Coronet*, October 1951, pp. 129-32. Rehabilitation at Clinton Farms, N.J., correctional institution.
- "The Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum," in *Antiques*, November 1951, pp. 402-52.* In this museum of American architecture and interior decoration, New Jersey is represented in the Vauxhall Room, with woodwork from the Thomas Maskell house in Cumberland County, and in the Imlay Room from John Imlay's house in Allentown, 1791.
- "How the Museum is Operated," by Mary Schweizer, in *Bulletin of the Passaic County Historical Society*, July 1951, p. 51.*
- "In the Heart of Newark Stands a 223 Year Old Schoolhouse," by Martha Swoboda, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey*, August 1951, p. 31.
- "Iron Mining to Resume at Ringwood, N.J.," in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, September 1951, p. 104.
- "The Jersey Company," by Gilbert Burck, in *Fortune*, October 1951, pp. 98-112 ff. First of a series on Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.
- "John J. Craven, Physician to Jefferson Davis," by Chester D. Bradley, M.D., in *Virginia Medical Monthly*, August 1951, pp. 433-37 (reprints available from the author).* Newark physician and inventor.
- "Lackawanna Centennial," in *Railway Age*, October 15, 1951, pp. 70-95.
- "Lafayette's Encampment at Wagaraw," by Walter Arndt Lucas, in

- Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, July 1951, pp. 54-60.*
- "Malleable Iron Then and Now," by James H. Lansing, in *Foundry*, October 1951, Section 1, pp. 92-97 ff. The technical director of the Malleable Founders' Society commemorates the 125th anniversary of Seth Boyden's discovery.
- "The Man to See' in New Jersey," by Lester Velie, in *Colliers'*, August 25, 1951, pp. 16-17 ff., and September 1, 1951, pp. 28-29 ff. Abner ("Longie") Zwillman, "From Rackets to Riches."
- "Meet Major De Camp," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey*, June 1951, p. 14. Rare 1870 photograph of Jonathan DeCamp of Roseland, founder of the De-Camp bus lines.
- "New Jersey, Crossroads of the East," in *New York Times*, April 1, 1951, Section 10, pp. 1-16. Special supplement on industrial advantages of New Jersey.
- "New Jersey Turnpike, Photographs of an Engineering Masterpiece," by Sol Libsohn, in *Fortune*, September 1951, pp. 89-92.
- "New Jersey Vacationists, Take a Good Look Around You; Jersey is Full of History and Beauty," by F. Kenneth Schultze, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey*, August 1951, pp. 26-27.
- "New Jersey's Turnpike," by Paul L. Troast, in *Traffic Quarterly*, July 1951, pp. 262-71. Mr. Troast is Chairman of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority.
- "Princeton," by Don Woodford, in *New Jersey Bell*, November 1951, pp. 2-7.* The series, "Cities of New Jersey," began in the October 1949 issue with Trenton. Other cities treated, in order so far, Newark, Hackensack, Elizabeth, Cape May, Morristown, New Brunswick, Hackettstown.
- "The North of Jersey," by Carl L. Biemiller, in *Holiday*, April 1951, pp. 35-51.*
- "Princeton in 1784, the Diary of James W. Wilkin of the Class of 1785," in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Winter 1951, pp. 55-66.*
- "The Proprietors of the Province of West New Jersey," by John E. Pomfret, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April 1951, pp. 117-46.* Dr. Pomfret's talk on the province of West New Jersey at the 1949 annual meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society was printed in the *Proceedings* for January 1950.
- "A Racketeer Takes over an American City," by Jules Weinberg, in *Look*, July 17, 1951, pp. 42-43. Edward J. Florio in Hoboken.
- "Surface Hunting in the Upper Raritan Valley," by Richard Doyle, in the *Archeological Society of New Jersey Bulletin*, No. 4, May 1951, pp. 1-5.
- "Thomas Hirst, Inventor and Manufacturer of Smyrna Rugs," by Mrs. Emma Hirst Delaney, in *Vineland Historical Magazine*, January to April 1951, pp. 94-100.*
- "Volunteer Rescuers on Guard; All Parts of New Jersey are Covered by Well Trained First Aid Squads," by Glendon A. Schubert, Jr., and Major R. Marling, in *National Municipal Review*, November 1951, pp. 527-32.

MY WORD

WITH this issue we come to you, as our editorial forebears were wont to say, in new dress. After long years of service, the venerable gray cover and familiar internal format are laid aside. Typographical styles have changed and measures calculated to modernize and beautify the magazine have been under consideration for some time. In connection with the work of re-designing, particular thanks are due to Mr. P. J. Conkwright of the Princeton University Press, a member of this society, whose accomplishments in the typographical field are too well known to require elaboration. Whatever merit the new PROCEEDINGS may be found to have is owing entirely to the interest and generous advice of Mr. Conkwright. Should deficiencies appear, they may be tracked confidently to the editor's door.

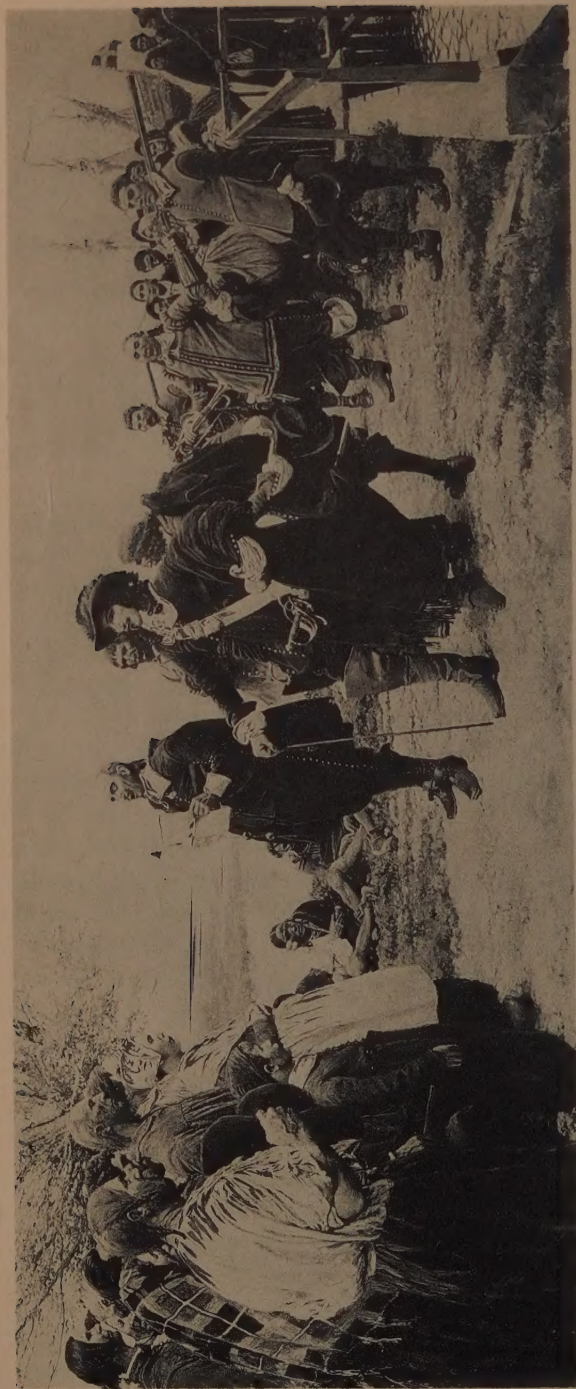
In the course of planning incidental to the new design, some attention has been given to the matter of contents. The only basic change, however, is that which involves formal reports of the Society's officers. These will be omitted from the PROCEEDINGS, instead appearing together in a separate publication.

No material change in the type of contents will be seen. The PROCEEDINGS continues to be a magazine of New Jersey history—and the word "history" is used here in its broadest sense. In the selection of articles, four main qualities will be considered: reliability, readability, significance, and interest. Attention is called to the series of highlight articles on New Jersey history of which the first, on the subject of Indians, appears in this issue.

The remaining contents have been shaped into four departments, which are planned to be recurring features. It is hoped that readers not only will find these departments interesting and useful, but that they will contribute pertinent information when possible. Particular reference is made, in this connection, to the "Director's Diary" and "New Jersey in Print."

All further considerations aside, we hope that the reader will find the PROCEEDINGS in its present form both attractive and interesting. It may be assumed that no effort will be spared to provide a useful and competent publication. Readers' comments will be welcomed.

THE EDITOR.



The landing of Philip Carteret at what is now Elizabeth, New Jersey, in August of 1665.
From a mural painting by Howard Pyle in the Essex County courthouse at Newark, N.J.